



**SURESH**  
**GYAN VIHAR**  
**UNIVERSITY**  
Accredited by NAAC with 'A+' Grade

**Master of Arts**

**(History)**

**HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT**

**Semester-II**

**Author- Dr. Roma Singh**

**SURESH GYAN VIHAR UNIVERSITY**  
**Centre for Distance and Online Education**  
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## **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

**The students will be able to understand:**

### **UNIT -1**

- Students should be able to comprehend the social, political, and economic conditions that led to the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.
- Ability to identify and analyze various sources used in the study of ancient Indian history.
- Proficiency in assessing the reliability and limitations of historical sources.

### **UNIT -2**

- Students should be able to define and conceptually understand the terms society, community, social groups, social institutions, social systems, and social mobility.
- Knowledge of the characteristics and developments in Paleolithic and Mesolithic cultures.
- Understanding the lifestyle, tools, and artistic expressions of these periods.

### **UNIT -3**

- Students should be able to define and conceptually understand the terms society, community, social groups, social institutions, social systems, and social mobility.
- In-depth knowledge of the origin, extent, and key features of the Indus-Saraswathi civilization.
- Competence in describing and analyzing town planning, architecture, economy, religion, and arts.

### **UNIT-4**

- Students should be able to define social control and recognize its role in maintaining social order.
- Understanding the historical significance of the Vedic Saraswati river and the evidence supporting its historicity.
- Engagement with scholarly discussions surrounding the original home and identity of the Aryans.

## **UNIT-5**

- Synthesis of knowledge regarding the sources, historiographical trends, and major developments in ancient Indian history up to 600 B.c.
- Proficiency in critically analyzing and evaluating different historical perspectives and debates.
- Development of research and analytical skills to understand the complexities of prehistoric and ancient Indian civilizations.

# **HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT SYLLABUS**

## **UNIT I**

### **POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE**

Introduction, Plato- Life introduction, Concept of justice, Reign of the philosopher king, Education plan & communism, Ideal state, Aristotle- Life introduction, Aristotle's thought-effect compositions and method of study, Thoughts on the State

## **UNIT II**

### **HOBBS AND LOCKE**

Introduction, Hobbes - Natural State, The Doctrine of the Origin of the State or the Nature of the Contract, Principle of Individual Liberty and Rights, Locke- Human Nature, The State of Nature Establishment of Society and Government, Types of Government, Concept of Right to Proprietor or Sovereignty, Concept of Natural Rights

## **UNIT III**

### **JEREMY BENTHAM**

Introduction, Bentham's Theory of State, Doctrine of Hedonism, Utilitarianism J.S. Mill, Change in Utilitarianism and the Need of Time, Problem with Utilitarianism, Difference in Utilitarianism

## **UNIT IV**

### **KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI**

Introduction, Political Thoughts of Kautilya, Type of Government, Origin of The State, Inter-State Relations, Ruler, Council of Ministers, Machiavelli- Human Nature, Concept of State, Ethics and Politics, Nature of State

## **UNIT V**

### **VEDA VYASA AND MAHATMA GANDHI**

Introduction, Veda Vyasa, King's Duties, Punishment And Justice, War Rules, Republican Ideas, Mahatma Gandhi, State Considerations, Ideas of Freedom, Equality And Gandhi, Social Justice and Gandhi

# **POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE**

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**STRUCTURE**

- 1.1 Learning Objective
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Plato- Life Introduction
- 1.4 Concept of Justice
- 1.5 Reign of the Philosopher King
- 1.6 Education Plan & Communism
- 1.7 Ideal State
- 1.8 Aristotle- Life Introduction
- 1.9 Aristotle's Thought-Effect Compositions and Method of Study
- 1.10 Thoughts on the State
- 1.11 Chapter Summary
- 1.12 Review Questions
- 1.13 Multiple Choice Questions



## 1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

**After the study of this unit, you will be able to :**

- Plato's theory of forms, ideal state, education, philosopher king and justice.
- Aristotle's thought-effect compositions and method of study.
- Aristotle view point on State.

## 1.2 INTRODUCTION

Political theorizing is said to have been invented by the ancient Greeks, but the sense in which they invented it is frequently misunderstood. Systematic political reflection did not begin with Plato, and Plato himself did not wake up one day with nothing much on his hands and begin writing the Republic. Similarly, it appears that politics were not the first thing on which the ancients systematically reflected; nor was it the case that when they did begin to think about politics, they had nothing else on their minds.

Ancient Rome and Greece were the birthplaces of European political thought. Beginning around 600 BCE, thinkers in these societies began to consider questions of social organization as part of their broader considerations of ethics and how to live the good life.

Plato had the freedom to develop his ideas during the intellectual golden age of fifth-century Athenian democracy, but he despised democracy, as well as all other forms of government that existed at the time.

The common man cannot think things out for himself and is therefore incapable of judging whether others have thought anything out properly; he does believe he can understand public affairs and will only listen to those who tell him that he can; he likes things put to him simply, and he likes simple answers to complex questions because he is really bewildered underneath his own self-confidence. En masse the common man is a great beast who needs to be stroked, fed, flattered and led by the nose. The common man's lack of a sense of his own limitations, and the demagogue's ability to exploit it, means that a democratic polis is always likely to get out of control.

The demagogue and the demos corrupt each other because the demagogue knows that he can only propose what the people are already predisposed to believe is right, and the people will only listen to those who tell them that they are right to want what they already want. Men such as these are the first in the world's history to have nothing between their this-I-want and their this-I-will-do. The Homeric heroes were at least constrained by their roles and by the expectations of the multitude, aristocrats were subject to noblesse oblige and even tyrants had to watch their step; only the demos, by universalizing itself, found that it could do anything, provided only that it had a will to do it.

## 1.3 PLATO- LIFE INTRODUCTION

Before giving details of Plato's life we will take a few moments to discuss how definite the details are which we give below. The details are mostly given by Plato himself in letters which seem, on the face of it, to make them certain. However, it is disputed whether Plato did indeed write the letters so there are three possible interpretations. Firstly that Plato wrote the letters and therefore the details are accurate. Secondly that although not written by Plato, the letters were written by someone who knew him or at least had access to accurate information on his life. The third possibility, which unfortunately cannot be ruled out, is that they were written by someone as pure fiction.



“It was claimed that Plato’s real name was Aristocles, and that ‘Plato’ was a nickname (roughly ‘the broad’) derived either from the width of his shoulders, the results of training for wrestling, or from the breadth of his style, or from the size of his forehead.”

Plato was the youngest son of Ariston and Perictione who both came from famous wealthy families who had lived in Athens for generations. While Plato was a young man his father died and his mother remarried, her second husband being Pyrilampes. It was mostly in Pyrilampes’ house that Plato was brought up. Aristotle writes that when Plato was a young man he studied under Cratylus who was a student of Heracleitus, famed for his cosmology which is based on fire being the basic material of the universe. It is almost certain that Plato became friends with Socrates when he was young, for Plato’s mother’s brother Charmides was a close friend of Socrates. The Peloponnesian War was fought between Athens and Sparta between 431 BC and 404 BC. Plato was in military service from 409 BC to 404 BC but at this time he wanted a political career rather than a military one.

At the end of the war he joined the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants in Athens set up in 404 BC, one of whose leaders being his mother’s brother Charmides, but their violent acts meant that Plato quickly left. In 403 BC there was a restoration of democracy at Athens and Plato had great hopes that he would be able to enter politics again. However, the excesses of Athenian political life seem to have persuaded him to give up political ambitions. In particular, the execution of Socrates in 399 BC had a profound effect on him and he decided that he would have nothing further to do with politics in Athens. Plato left Athens after Socrates had been executed and travelled in Egypt, Sicily and Italy. In Egypt he learnt of a water clock and later introduced it into Greece. In Italy he learned of the work of Pythagoras and came to appreciate the value of mathematics. This was an event of great importance since from the ideas Plato gained from the disciples of Pythagoras, he formed his idea :-

“that the reality which scientific thought is seeking must be expressible in mathematical terms, mathematics being the most precise and definite kind of thinking of which we are capable. The significance of this idea for the development of science from the first beginnings to the present day has been immense.”

Again there was a period of war and again Plato entered military service. It was claimed by later writers on Plato’s life that he was decorated for bravery in battle during this period of his life. It is also thought that he began to write his dialogues at this time. Plato returned to Athens and founded his Academy in Athens, in about 387 BC. It was on land which had belonged to a man called Academos, and this is where the name “Academy” came from. The Academy was an institution devoted to research and instruction in philosophy and the sciences, and Plato presided over it from 387 BC until his death in 347 BC. His reasons for setting up the Academy were connected with his earlier ventures into politics. He had been bitterly disappointed with the standards displayed by those in public office and he hoped to train young men who would become statesmen. However, having given them the values that Plato believed in, Plato thought that these men would be able to improve the political leadership of the cities of Greece.

Only two further episodes in Plato’s life are recorded. He went to Syracuse in 367 BC following the death of Dionysius I who had ruled the city. Dion, the brother-in-law of Dionysius I, persuaded Plato to come to Syracuse to tutor Dionysius II, the new ruler. Plato did not expect the plan to succeed but because both Dion and Archytas of Tarentum believed in the plan then Plato agreed. Their plan was that if Dionysius II was trained in science and philosophy he would be able to prevent Carthage invading Sicily. However,



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Dionysius II was jealous of Dion whom he forced out of Syracuse and the plan, as Plato had expected, fell apart. Plato returned to Athens, but visited Syracuse again in 361 BC hoping to be able to bring the rivals together. He remained in Syracuse for part of 360 BC but did not achieve a political solution to the rivalry. Dion attacked Syracuse in a coup in 357, gained control, but was murdered in 354.

#### Field writes in Plato's life:-

"makes it clear that the popular conception of Plato as an aloof unworldly scholar, spinning theories in his study remote from practical life, is singularly wide of the mark. On the contrary, he was a man of the world, an experienced soldier, widely travelled, with close contacts with many of the leading men of affairs, both in his own city and elsewhere."

Plato's main contributions are in philosophy, mathematics and science. However, it is not as easy as one might expect to discover Plato's philosophical views. The reason for this is that Plato wrote no systematic treatise giving his views, rather he wrote a number of dialogues (about 30) which are written in the form of conversations. Firstly we should comment on what superb pieces of literature these dialogues are:-

They show the mastery of language, the power of indicating character, the sense of a situation, and the keen eye for both its tragic and its comic aspects, which set Plato among the greatest writers of the world. He uses these gifts to the full in inculcating the lessons he wants to teach.

In letters written by Plato he makes it clear that he understands that it will be difficult to work out his philosophical theory from the dialogues but he claims that the reader will only understand it after long thought, discussion and questioning. The dialogues do not contain Plato as a character so he does not declare that anything asserted in them are his own views. The characters are historic with Socrates usually the protagonist so it is not clear how much these characters express views with which they themselves would have put forward. It is thought that, at least in the early dialogues, the character of Socrates expresses views that Socrates actually held.

Through these dialogues, Plato contributed to the theory of art, in particular dance, music, poetry, architecture, and drama. He discussed a whole range of philosophical topics including ethics, metaphysics where topics such as immortality, man, mind, and Realism are discussed. He discussed the philosophy of mathematics, political philosophy where topics such as censorship are discussed, and religious philosophy where topics such as atheism, dualism and pantheism are considered. In discussing epistemology he looked at ideas such as a priori knowledge and Rationalism. In his theory of Forms, Plato rejected the changeable, deceptive world that we are aware of through our senses proposing instead his world of ideas which were constant and true.

Let us illustrate Plato's theory of Forms with one of his mathematical examples. Plato considers mathematical objects as perfect forms. For example a line is an object having length but no breadth. No matter how thin we make a line in the world of our senses, it will not be this perfect mathematical form, for it will always have breadth. In the *Phaedo* Plato talks of objects in the real world trying to be like their perfect forms. By this he is thinking of thinner and thinner lines which are tending in the limit to the mathematical concept of a line but, of course, never reaching it. Another example from the *Phaedo* is given in:

"The instance taken there is the mathematical relation of equality, and the contrast is drawn between the absolute equality we think of in mathematics and the rough, approximate equality which is what we have to be content with in dealing with objects with our senses."

Again in the Republic Plato talks of geometrical diagrams as imperfect imitations of the perfect mathematical objects which they represent. Plato's contributions to the theories of education are shown by the way that he ran the Academy and his idea of what constitutes an educated person. He also contributed to logic and legal philosophy, including rhetoric. Although Plato made no important mathematical discoveries himself, his belief that mathematics provides the finest training for the mind was extremely important in the development of the subject. Over the door of the Academy was written:

**"Let no one unversed in geometry enter here."**

Plato concentrated on the idea of 'proof' and insisted on accurate definitions and clear hypotheses. This laid the foundations for Euclid's systematic approach to mathematics. In his contributions to mathematics through his students are summarized:-

All of the most important mathematical work of the 4th century was done by friends or pupils of Plato. The first students of conic sections, and possibly Theaetetus, the creator of solid geometry, were members of the Academy. Eudoxus of Cnidus - author of the doctrine of proportion expounded in Euclid's "Elements", inventor of the method of finding the areas and volumes of curvilinear figures by exhaustion, and propounder of the astronomical scheme of concentric spheres adopted and altered by Aristotle - removed his school from Cyzicus to Athens for the purpose of cooperating with Plato; and during one of Plato's absences he seems to have acted as the head of the Academy. Archytas, the inventor of mechanical science, was a friend and correspondent of Plato.

In mathematics Plato's name is attached to the Platonic solids. In the Timaeus there is a mathematical construction of the elements (earth, fire, air, and water), in which the cube, tetrahedron, octahedron, and icosahedron are given as the shapes of the atoms of earth, fire, air, and water. The fifth Platonic solid, the dodecahedron, is Plato's model for the whole universe.

Plato's beliefs as regards the universe were that the stars, planets, Sun and Moon move round the Earth in crystalline spheres. The sphere of the Moon was closest to the Earth, then the sphere of the Sun, then Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and furthest away was the sphere of the stars. He believed that the Moon shines by reflected sunlight. Perhaps the best overview of Plato's views can be gained from examining what he thought that a proper course of education should consist. Here is his course of study :-

"The exact sciences - arithmetic, plane and solid geometry, astronomy, and harmonics - would first be studied for ten years to familiarize the mind with relations that can only be apprehended by thought. Five years would then be given to the still severer study of 'dialectic'. Dialectic is the art of conversation, of question and answer; and according to Plato, dialectical skill is the ability to pose and answer questions about the essences of things. The dialectician replaces hypotheses with secure knowledge, and his aim is to ground all science, all knowledge, on some 'unhypothetical first principle.'"

## **1.4 CONCEPT OF JUSTICE**

The question of justice has been central to every society, and in every age, it surrounds itself with debate. Justice has been the most critical part of a person's morality since time immemorial. Perhaps, it is for this reason that Plato, the ancient Greek philosopher, considered it crucial to reach a theory of justice. Finding out the principles of justice is the main concern in Plato's Republic, to the extent that it is also subtitled as 'Concerning Justice'.





### **Ethics and Justice**

In the Greek tradition of philosophy, political science was formulated after ethics. Ethics is referred to as a branch of learning that associates itself with good conduct. Ethics is, thus, that branch of philosophy that studies morality and deals with the questions of right and wrong.

The Greeks have considered ethics to be the foundations of Politics and Justice. According to Greek philosophy, the state comes into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of a good life, which makes it essential to have a “just society and a just state.”

Plato, who can also be called the pioneer of Western Political Thought, viewed justice as a central question when dealing with politics (here, politics denote the subject of political science).

### **Plato and his thoughts**

Greek political thought originates from Socrates. Plato was one of the most brilliant disciples of Socrates. Plato is considered the pioneer of Western Political thought today. It is because his mentor, Socrates, did not produce any writing, and we know of his thoughts only from the writings of Plato. Plato, whose original name is Aristocles, was interested in pursuing philosophy and searching for the “truth”. After the tragic death of Socrates, Plato produced various works on questions of State, Law, Justice, Politics and Philosophy. The Republic, in particular, is one of his most famous works. It deals with a wide range of ideas, and many of those ideas are relevant and are studied to date. Theory of Justice in Plato’s Republic is worth studying for any political science student today.

### **Plato’s Theory of Justice**

Since the tradition of Greek Philosophy considered ethics to be important, they believed that the state comes into existence for the sake of life and continues for the sake of a good life. Plato believed in the same dictum and held that the state exists to fulfill the necessities of human life. The origin of the state, therefore, owed its existence to the fulfillment of human needs, and the Greek philosophers saw society and state as the same.

Unlike other living beings, human beings do not merely seek survival but essentially want to live a good life. Justice is the essential requirement to lead a good life. One cannot lead a good life without meeting their needs, and it’s possible to meet one’s needs only in the presence of Justice.

The Republic discusses Justice in the form of a dialogue. This methodology is known as Dialectical Method, which Plato borrowed from his mentor, Socrates. The dialogue takes place between Socrates, Glaucon, Adeimantus, Cephalus and Thrasymachus. The dialogue concluded that if one were allowed to suppress another, there would be complete anarchy, and it would be difficult to have any state of affairs. To save oneself from any such suffering and to prevent injustice, men enter into a contract to prevent injustice upon themselves or on others. That is also how laws came into existence to codify standard human conduct and bring a sense of Justice.

### **Essence of Justice**

Socrates clarifies that justice is a relationship. A relationship among individuals relies on the kind of social organization they inhabit. He further explains that justice can be analysed on a large scale, that is, state and then, on the level of the individual. Therefore, Plato’s idea of justice believes that just individuals and just society are interwoven. To further understand Plato’s theory of justice and its essence, it is important first to solve the issue of selecting the best ruler for the state. According to his argument, statesmanship is a special function and can only be performed by qualified persons with a moral character.

Then, in order to comprehend the nature of the state, the nature of man has to be understood too. Plato believed in "Like Man, Like State", implying that the character of the state is dependent on the character of its citizens. It also meant that once the nature of human beings is understood, it's easier to understand the functions of human society, and to arrive at the conclusion as to who is the best fit for ruling in this society.

**Plato characterizes human behavior in three main sources:**

- Desire (or Appetite)
- Emotion (or Spirit)
- Knowledge (or Intellect)

Each human being has all three emotions but what varies is the degree to which these emotions are present in them. According to Plato, the ones who are restless and rapacious are fit for trade. Others who are driven by their emotion or spirit are best suited to become soldiers. Lastly, there are few who find no pleasure in worldly pursuits or victory and are satisfied in mediation. Such beings yearn to learn, and they are always in search of truth, and according to Plato, only these men of wisdom are fit to rule.

Plato thinks that just like the perfect individual is the one who has the ideal combination of desire, emotion and knowledge, a just state is the one that has individuals as its citizens for trade, to be soldiers and to rule. In the perfect state, individuals driven by desire will lead to growth and production but would not rule; the military armies would maintain security but not rule either. Only the individuals who have no appetite to gain material possession or power and are forces of knowledge would become the rulers.

**Justice: the virtue of state**

In his idea of justice, Plato identifies virtues that suit each social class.

- The social class of traders, whose dominant trait is desire, the befitting virtue of traders is TEMPERANCE.
- The social class of soldiers, whose dominant trait is spirit or emotion, the befitting virtue of soldiers is COURAGE.
- The social class of Philosophers, whose dominant trait is knowledge or intellect, the befitting virtue of Philosophers, is WISDOM.
- The virtue that befits the state is JUSTICE which creates harmony in all the three social classes and is a necessary condition for human happiness.

The first three virtues belong to the respective three social classes, but the fourth virtue is a manifestation of harmony between all the three classes. These four virtues are also referred to **as the four Cardinal Virtues of Plato's theory of Justice.**

**Philosopher-Kings:** the cornerstone of Plato's theory of Justice

Plato is known for his unique concept of the philosopher-kings put forward in his political thought. He prescribed that the reins of government should remain with a very small class of philosopher-kings who represent REASON.

According to "The story of Philosophy" by Will Durant, "the industrial forces would produce, but they would not rule, the military forces would protest, but they would not rule, the forces of knowledge and science and philosophy would be nourished and protected, and they would rule".

Plato's theory of Justice is famously known as the Architectonic Theory of Justice. He



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explains that as during the construction of a building, each part is assigned to different artisans, but the architect combines it to contribute to the final outlay of the building and add to its splendor. Similarly, the three cardinal virtues, namely Temperance, Courage, and Wisdom, would be cultivated by Traders, Soldiers and Philosopher class, respectively, and Justice, the fourth virtue, would act as the architect establishing a perfect state.

Due to this inference between architecture and the organization of society, his theory is also called the **Architectonic Theory of Justice**. To conclude, Plato considers Justice to be a necessary condition of the good life. It is conducive to human happiness. The Republic, his famous work, is the most important work that explains his idea of justice. His theory of justice, built on moral foundations, with a clarification of virtues and classification of social classes, is considered today as relevant for all ages.

### 1.5 REIGN OF THE PHILOSOPHER KING

There is a methodical questioning of being in Plato's work, The Republic, as The Republics an attempt to address an issue in human behavior: justice. Plato discusses the ideal polis, a collective unit of self-government, and the relationship between the organization of the Republic and the attainment of justice to address the problem of justice. As all philosophers strive to discover the ideal polis, Plato contends that philosopher monarchs should be the rulers.

The beautiful city, or 'kallipolis', is a just city where political leadership is based on knowledge, which philosopher rulers possess, rather than power. Although it would be ideal if the Republic and modern state were dominated by knowledge rather than power, power plays an important role in political action. This is one of Plato's arguments' shortcomings, which the essay shall address. The topic of who should rule arises, and the article will conclude that, according to Plato's argument, philosopher kings should not be rulers because Plato is advocating an undemocratic political system led by a benign dictator.



Marcus Aurelius

The philosopher king is a fictional ruler who combines political acumen with philosophical understanding. Plato's Republic, written around 375 BC, is the first work to examine the idea of a city-state controlled by philosophers. Plato claimed that the perfect state – one that secured the greatest possible happiness for all of its members – could only be established by a ruler who possessed absolute knowledge, which could only be achieved by philosophical study.



Alexander the Great

Several historical characters, including Alexander the Great and Marcus Aurelius, have been portrayed as embodying the philosopher king ideal by ancient and modern writers.

The first word is more important in the Platonic concept of the philosopher king than the second. Plato makes limited use of the concept of kingship per se, instead relying on traditional Greek contrasts between king and tyrant, and between the monarch as individual ruler and the multitudinous authority of aristocracy and democracy. However, the fact that he used the term was crucial to the concept's later success in imperial Rome and monarchical Europe. Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180), a Stoic

Roman emperor, believed that even rulers should be philosophers, rather than that only philosophers should rule.

The crucial issue, according to François Fénelon, the Roman Catholic archbishop charged with the moral education of Louis, duc de Bourgogne, Louis XIV's grandson, was that kings should have self-control and selfless devotion to duty, rather than knowledge. Enlightened despots of the 18th century, such as Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia, would take pride in being philosopher kings and queens. But, by then, philosophy had abandoned Plato's emphasis on absolute knowledge in favor of the free pursuit of knowledge and the application of reason.

## 1.6 EDUCATION PLAN & COMMUNISM

### Plato's Theory of Education

During Plato's time, the educational system was completely reversed; they were Athenian and Spartan types. The Athenian system was primarily for private people, and it was up to parents to educate their children in whatever way they thought was best. In the Spartan system of education, which was controlled by the state, parents separated their children when they reached the age of four and sent them to be cared for by the perfects, while the state took care of their education with no parental involvement. The state provides education in accordance with social circumstances. Plato's education system was created to promote social welfare and to assist individuals in understanding reality.

### Features of the Platonic Educational System

The following are the key aspects of platonic or spiritual education:

- Plato emphasized the importance of bringing all parties involved together for proper education. He thought that education is a good measure by which rulers may mould the characteristics of the people; he never favored the idea of leaving education in private hands, instead emphasizing the importance of maintaining education solely in the hands of the government.
- Plato never agreed that parents should have control over their children's education and emphasized the importance of making it compulsory. He claimed that all people of the state should be required to attend school in order to develop their mental capacities and become respected members of society.
- Plato did not accept the barring of women from education on the Athenian system, both men and women must be given education
- The education of Plato was for artisans and also for the peasants. He stated that, "Men of copper can be made into men of silver and even of gold, if they possess their attributes".
- Plato was in support of firm censorship of all literary and artistic works to make sure that, youth did not come under bad influences.
- Plato insisted that education must provide moral and physical improvement of the child; he said that healthy mind can only reside in the healthy soul.
- The important aspect of his education was to prepare the philosopher king. The philosophers after passing through a rigorous education would be able to run the government.

### Education and Curriculum

Plato's educational curriculum is divided into two stages: elementary and advanced. The



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first stage lasts from birth to the age of six years, during which both boys and girls were to receive language education, as well as basic religious education. The second stage is from 6 to 18 years old, and the child should be educated in music and gymnastics. Music would provide necessary soul development, while gymnastics would provide physical growth. The third stage was extended from 18 to 20 years, and both must receive military training during this time.

Higher education lasts from 20 to 35 years, with individuals interested in science and philosophy being taught at the conclusion of the first 20 years. Higher education can be divided into two stages, the first lasting 20 to 30 years and the second lasting 30 to 35 years. In the beginning, subjects such as mathematics, astronomy, logic, and other sciences must be taught, as well as geometry. The second stage of education emphasizes dialectics, and this level is essential for the formation of a philosopher king. The monarch was to rule for 35 to 50 years, following which he was to retire and begin studying God.

### Criticisms of Plato's Educational Scheme

His educational scheme has been heavily criticized, with the following charges leveled:

- Plato's educational scheme was designed for the guardian class; other classes such as peasant and artisan were not included.
- His educational scheme is a lifelong process.
- Plato's proposal for censorship of art and literature is highly critical.
- Plato's education system is illogical; there is no progression from one stage to the next.
- The philosopher king who governs the state lacks the necessary training in administration and other issues.
- His educational pattern is antithetical to human psychology and inimical to a prosperous society based on diversity of growth.

### Society and Communism

The state by Plato is an ethic-religious organism which must care for the material good of citizens and above all lead them to attainment of ideal virtue. Plato's social philosophy revolves around two foci; first, the doctrine that society is an organic whole; second, that society is a hierarchical whole, with higher and lower levels. The individual has no being apart from the community; there is no such thing as the good of the individual in distinction from that of the group. The unit is the group; and ethics is part of politics.

The soul of individual person is a miniature structure of society and society could be viewed as the individual person projected on a larger screen. Moreover, "the relationship between the two is deeper than that of simply having a parallel structure. Plato believes that "it is impossible to live the good life or to be fulfilled individual apart from state. To be a citizen of a state did not merely imply in the Greek view, the payment of taxes and the possession of a vote: it implied a direct and active co-operation in all the functions of civil and military life.

A citizen was normally a soldier, judge and member of the governing assembly; and all his public duties, he performed not by deputy, but in person; the gods of the city were his gods, it festivals he must attend. The city-State of the Greek was therefore a community persons who know one another; it was not only politically self-governed, it facilitated also a large measure of social discussion . Every action of any importance is a public function and a public trust. Plato must not be taken as standing for a social good over and above



the good of the individual for the state is a community of persons and its good is their good. A social good by itself is as much of an abstraction as a merely individual good. Society and individual exist in reciprocal dependence.

NOTES



## 1.7 IDEAL STATE

### Plato's Concept of an Ideal State

Many Athenians thought their huge towns and city-states were perfect at Plato's day. That is, their cultural and military achievements are ideal. The famed philosopher Plato, on the other hand, thought otherwise.

He was wary of a society that gave no special consideration to persons with political knowledge. Plato was also well-versed in Athens' filthiness, including its arrogance, military, political, and social blunders, and even its scorn for its own population. Plato was inspired to establish the goals of his perfect state, or "ideal," state after seeing through the Athenian state's mask.

### Three Waves of the Ideal State

The blueprints for Plato's new society were designed to be established in three waves. Three waves to eliminate corruption, and bring in new principles and ideals. The three waves are as following:

- a. A new ruling class of Guardians, consisting exclusively of Philosopher-Kings.
- b. Guardians of the state, being a mixture of men and women.
- c. Guardians would live communally, without any private property of their own.

#### a. First Wave

The first wave consists of the new ruling class of Guardians, which is to consist of only Philosopher Kings. He defined a philosopher as an individual who has a great affinity for knowledge. He believed that knowledge was the key to a successful ruler. According to him, either philosophers should become kings or kings should become philosophers. Plato's desire for this first wave was due to Athens' dislike of people of high stature. The Athenians considered Plato's kind rogues or useless individuals who thought themselves better than the rest of society.

#### b. Second Wave

Plato's second wave consists of the Guardians being a mixture of men and women. This idea was very rational for Plato's time because women were not involved politically in that era. Women were not active politically until relatively modern times, which means that Plato was quite a knowledgeable philosopher, not just by ancient Greek standards, but also by modern-day standards.



#### c. Third Wave

His third wave stated that the Guardians would live communally, without owning any private property of their own. They would not even own any wealth. They would share their things, and in this way, Athenians would lose their need to be jealous of one another because of class rankings. Envy would become non-existing because there would not be a concern with the possession of wealth. As everyone would have the same items, there would not be disagreements over who owns what.



### What is an ideal state according to Plato?

According to Plato, a state is “When a group of people get together and settle in one place, and who has various different requirements.” This interpretation of how a society should be can be seen as the base of all of Plato’s ideas about his “Ideal State.”

Everyone in society has different requirements and needs different things, and the best way to achieve these different requirements is to work together. This would be achieved by having a mutual exchange system. The most important needs of society are food, clothing, and shelter, and the best way to attain these needs would be for individuals to attend to certain tasks. For example, someone would be a builder, another would be a farmer or a weaver. Everyone should have tasks according to one’s abilities. A farmer should be growing food not only not himself, but also his family and the whole community, and so on.

In his book *The Republic*, Plato explains how he thinks life in his ideal state would be like, through the guise of his character of ‘Socrates’:

“They and their children will feast, drinking of wine which they have made, wearing garlands on their heads, and having the praises of the gods on their lips, living in a sweat society, and having a care that their families do not exceed their means; for they will have an eye to poverty or war. Of course, they will have a relish salt, and olives, and cheese, and onion, and cabbages, or other country herbs, which are fit for boiling; and we shall give them a dessert of figs, and pulse, and beans, and myrtle-berries, and beech nuts, which they will roast at the fire, drinking in moderation. And with such a diet they may be expected to live in peace to good old age, and bequeath a similar life to their children after them”.

### Flaws of the Theory

We can’t say whether or not the three waves of Plato’s Ideal State would be able to instate a lifestyle that would positively affect even the most common of common farmers.

- The biggest fault of the Ideal State theory is that the political structure that Plato wanted for the state was never disclosed.
- Even with the philosopher kings, there isn’t any law mentioned. This gives way to the crazy notion that there would not be any need for laws as the citizens would be so happy and blissful that they would have no need or want to commit any criminal act.
- It is pure wishful thinking from Plato that made him ignore all these fundamental elements from his ideal state.

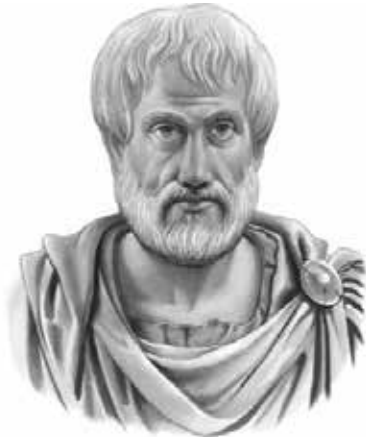
Three classes would be needed in his state:

1. At the top, **the rulers**: they would be intellectuals who could think rationally.
2. **The middle class**: they would be auxiliaries, who would make up a courageous and spirited military, and would be obedient to ruler.
3. And the third-class would **be money-makers**: farmers and tradesmen, etc. They are not “working class” as they are allowed to earn money and own property.
  - Plato argues that measures must be taken to prevent excessive prosperity or poverty, binding money makers to their class for all time, just as everyone else is linked to their class. You are born into a particular social class and remain there throughout your life.

- It's also worth noting that his "ideal state" does not include a fourth class, the working class, a class for slaves, who are the ultimate working class. That is not to say that slaves did not exist in his ideal state; on the contrary, they were still highly popular, but they were not recognized to have any human rights.



## 1.8 ARISTOTLE- LIFE INTRODUCTION



Aristotle grew up in a royal environment because his father was the court physician of Amyntas III of Macedon. Aristotle was also acquainted with Philip of Macedon (son of Amyntas III), and it is said that Aristotle trained Philip's son Alexander, who would eventually be known as "the Great" after expanding the Macedonian Empire all the way to what is now India. Aristotle clearly had first-hand involvement with politics; however researchers differ about how much, if any, of an impact this experience had on his thinking. Although Aristotle extols the virtues of political engagement, he spent the most of his life in Athens, where he was not a citizen and thus could not participate actively in politics.

Aristotle was a Greek philosopher, logician, and scientist who lived from 384 to 322 BCE. Aristotle is widely recognised as one of the most prominent ancient thinkers in a variety of philosophical subjects, including political philosophy, alongside his teacher Plato. Aristotle was born in the northern Greek town of Stagira, where his father worked as a court physician for King Macedon. He attended Plato's Academy in Athens as a young man. After Plato's death, he travelled to Asia Minor and Lesbos to pursue philosophical and biological studies, and King Philip II of Macedon invited him to instruct his young son, Alexander the Great.

Aristotle frequently compares politicians to craftspeople. Politics, in the strict sense of legislative science, is a form of practical knowledge, whereas a craft such as architecture or medicine is a form of productive knowledge. The comparison is valid, however, to the extent that the politician creates, operates, and maintains a legal system based on universal principles. To understand this analogy, consider how Aristotle describes the production of an artefact in terms of four causes: material, formal, efficient, and final. A potter (efficient or moving cause), for example, moulds clay (material cause) into a vase shape (formal cause) so that it can hold liquid (final cause).

Aristotle has continued to influence thinkers up to the present throughout the political spectrum, including conservatives (such as Hannah Arendt, Leo Strauss, and Eric Voegelin), communitarians (such as Alasdair MacIntyre and Michael Sandel), liberals (such as William Galston and Martha C. Nussbaum), libertarians (such as Tibor R. Machan, Douglas B. Rasmussen, and Douglas J. Den Uyl), and democratic theorists (such as Jill Frank and Gerald M. Mara). It's not unexpected that Aristotle serves as a source for people of all political stripes. Because of his method, different interpretations are frequently produced.

When confronted with a tough problem, he is prone to carefully and nuanced consideration of opposing views, and he is frequently willing to acknowledge that there is truth on all sides. Despite his criticism of democracy, he admits in one section that the justification for rule by the many based on the superior knowledge of the many "may also entail some truth." He also applies his own principles in dubious ways, such as when he argues that

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because associations should be managed rationally, the household should be run by the husband rather than the wife, whose reasoning competence “lacks authority.”

Modern critics who support Aristotle’s overall approach frequently argue that he applies his own ideas improperly in this situation, leaving the question of how they should be applied unresolved. Furthermore, while his application of his principles may have seemed reasonable in his socio-political context—for example, that a citizen of a polity (normally the best attainable constitution) must be a hoplite soldier—it is debatable how these principles would apply in a modern democratic nation-state.

### **1.9 ARISTOTLE’S THOUGHT-EFFECT COMPOSITIONS AND METHOD OF STUDY**

Aristotle continues to remain relevant in the realms of science. Throughout the work *The Scientific Revolution*, Steven Shapin elaborates the vast changes that galvanized seventeenth-century society; he discusses how new scientific ideas and findings of the times shifted common thought from Aristotelian logic to more substantive, explicit reasoning. Many of the scholars who propelled such changes, however, underwent a great deal of criticism and resistance when initially sharing their ideas. The beliefs of the renowned philosopher Aristotle were highly prominent for centuries, and all of sudden these ideas were being uprooted by new, unknown scholars

On the other hand, these new ideas were eventually accepted as common truths, thus decreasing science’s reliance on philosophy. Conversely, as the notion of science is an inherently human endeavor, certain aspects of philosophy, namely those of Aristotle, are still implemented into today’s scientific practices. Considered the founder of formal logic, Aristotle was an Ancient Greek scientist and philosopher who made vast contributions to academic fields, such as biology, chemistry, psychology, history, and ethics. A student of fellow philosopher Plato, with whose ideas he eventually grew to disagree, he composed over two hundred works exhibiting his findings, thirty-one of which have been preserved throughout the centuries. Much of his work regarding science dealt with nature and metaphysics, which were guided by his theology.

For instance, he often decreed that it is more rational that the earth is the center of the entire universe than the Sun and the moon. Due to the lack of further knowledge regarding the earth’s position in the universe, this idea was widely accepted as true throughout Western society, and few dared to openly challenge it. Furthermore, Aristotle viewed science as a way of deducing eternal truths, and he had a profound interest in nature in that he often explored the phenomena of motion, time, space, and meteorology.

Surprisingly, in the theme of scientific progress, his statements were quite controversial upon initial proclamation; many disagreed with his views of the earth and simply did not understand his logic. He was not widely regarded among the public (since he mainly served the Greek High Court) but had a small, devout group of followers called Peripatetic.

His legacy was not fully manifest until the advent of the first century when several of his works were revived. Scholars copied and retranslated his works into books to be further studied by a larger audience. However, because these books included Aristotle’s claims questioning the existence of a single God and divine revelation, the Catholic Church ordered some of these books to be banned, thereby depriving scholars of the known entirety of Aristotle’s teachings.

This prohibition enacted by the Church astoundingly promoted further scientific discoveries in the Middle Ages; due to the restricted access these recovered books,

subsequent scholars considered new ideas that actually opposed those of Aristotle. For example, as explained in *The Scientific Revolution*, Galileo Galilei introduced the idea of a Sun-centered universe, contrary to Aristotle's belief in a universe centered on the earth.

Each idea was controversial during its initial spread in society but eventually become accepted as truth upon further validation. In spite of the growing acceptance of new ideas in the later centuries, Aristotelian thought is still relevant in our current society. Aristotle has created a basis for a great deal of today's scientific knowledge, such as the classification of organisms and objects.

Though erroneous by current standards, his four-element system of nature (i.e. minerals, plants, animals, and humans) has guided scientists for centuries in the study of biology. In addition, the current scientific community continues to regard his claims on the psychology of human desires and of the ultimate purposes of human actions. Thus, the Scientific Revolution did not efface Aristotelian thought but caused it to evolve into new aspects of study

### **1.10 THOUGHTS ON THE STATE**

Aristotle views the state as natural. According to him, the state is a necessary condition for all humans. Like Plato, he doesn't differentiate between state or society and, in a similar fashion, considers it to be essential for a good life. Thus, in his view, the State is a necessary condition of a good life.

Any human being cannot survive in isolation, and thus, a man and a woman establish a household. A village is formed when a family expands itself, and when many such villages are formed, a state comes into existence. As and when a state is formed and society is organized, human beings can meet their needs.

It is for the same reason that the state's existence is as important and natural as the presence of a family or village. However, most human associations are flawed and help to fulfill one or a few facets of the good life, but that's untrue for a state. He viewed the state as being able to meet the whole or all facets of a good life.

It is important to understand why he perceived the state as natural for humans. According to him, there is no difference between an animal or a human being, other than the fact that a human being has the desire and a sense of living a good life. What it means is that human beings become different from animals only if they exist in a state. It is the same desire to lead a good life that makes the formation of a state a natural thing to occur.

Aristotle seems to believe in the organic theory that means state is like an individual and individual has a body which is made of certain organs like head, arms, legs and face etc. In the same way, state is a body and individuals are its organs. Aristotle does not like too much state interference in the affairs of its citizens and gives certain liberties and rights to individuals. The civilized life of individuals start from the family reaches its top in the form of state. Therefore, family is the starting point and state is the last point of human development. Although most of the needs are fulfilled in family, villages and tribes but the super sufficient life is not possible without state.

If the state is a natural development there are definitely several stages. Aristotle begins his argument by saying that the first stage of the state is the **household**. The household is the simplest form of association and meets the simplest necessities. But man's necessities are various and naturally it is beyond the capacity of the family to meet those demands. Several families have formed a village to fulfill the greater demands and necessities. The





**village**, although higher than the family, cannot cope with the growing demands of its members, hence group of villages form a **State**.

**Functions of State:**

1. To establish good life.
2. To attain self-sufficient.
3. Arrangement of Education.
4. Provide facility to the citizens.

**Features of State:**

- No more or less, but manageable population.
- No more or less but manageable land.
- Population that is powerful, spiritual, and intelligent.
- Best social organization.
- Excellent educational system.

**1.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

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Plato's Theory of Forms, which asserts that non-physical Forms reflect the most accurate reality, is one of his most challenging elements.

Plato's new civilization was to be built in three waves, according to the blueprints. There will be three waves to eradicate corruption and introduce new principles and ideals.

Plato emphasized the need of properly educating all parties involved. He believed that education is an effective tool for rulers to shape the qualities of their subjects.

Plato emphasized the need of properly educating all parties involved. He believed that education is an effective tool for rulers to shape the qualities of their subjects.

The philosopher king is a fictitious monarch who possesses both political and intellectual knowledge. Plato's Republic, written approximately 375 BC, was the first work to consider the concept of a philosopher-controlled city-state. Plato defined justice as "performing one's inherent task without meddling with others."

Aristotle lived from 384 to 322 BCE and was a Greek philosopher, logician, and scientist. Politicians are frequently compared to artisans by Aristotle. Politics, in the strict sense of legislative science, is a type of practical knowledge, whereas architecture is a type of productive knowledge.

Aristotle views the state as natural. According to him, the state is a necessary condition for all humans. His ideas on property are extremely important; he defended the ownership of private property while simultaneously emphasizing that an unending supply of riches is harmful to society.

Slaves, he believed, belonged to the family and were therefore deemed the master's or family's property. He said that slavery is natural and advantageous for both owners and slaves.

Aristotle's classification of the constitution was mainly based on the location of sovereign power and end of the state. He divided the constitution into six types i.e., monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, polity and democracy.

**1.12 REVIEW QUESTIONS**

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**SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS**

1. Describe the philosopher king.
2. How did Plato define justice as?
3. What is an ideal state according to Plato?
4. Describe the life of Aristotle in brief.
5. What were the views of Aristotle on State.

**LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS**

1. Explain the three waves of the ideal state.
2. Give a brief note on the features of the platonic educational system.
3. Explain Plato's theory of justice.
4. What were the views of Aristotle on State?
5. What are the functions and features of State according to Aristotle?

**1.13 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS**

1. Aristotle was born in the \_\_\_\_\_ Greek town of Stagira.
  - a. Southern
  - b. Eastern
  - c. Northern
  - d. Western
2. Aristotle classification is based on the examination of \_\_\_\_ ancient world constitutions.
  - a. 185
  - b. 156
  - c. 158
  - d. 133
3. Plato's second wave consists of the Guardians being a mixture of \_\_\_\_\_.
  - a. Philosophy and explanation
  - b. Philosophy and Kings
  - c. Men and women
  - d. Experiment and communally
4. The \_\_\_\_\_ was primarily for private people, and it was up to parents to educate their children in whatever way they thought was best.
  - a. Spartan system
  - b. Athenian system
  - c. Both a and b
  - d. None of these
5. Plato did not \_\_\_\_ the barring of women from education on the Athenian system.
  - a. Accept
  - b. Decline



- c. Refuse
  - d. Wane
6. **Plato's Republic, written around 375 BC, is the first work to examine the idea of a city-state controlled by philosophers.**
- a. Plato's Republic
  - b. Newton
  - c. Darwin Theory
  - d. None of the above.
7. **Aristotle grew up in a royal environment because his father was the court \_\_\_\_\_ of Amyntas III of Macedon.**
- a. Musician
  - b. Physician
  - c. Lawyer
  - d. Ruler
8. **Plato was the youngest son of Ariston and Perictione.**
- a. Aristotle
  - b. Amyntas III
  - c. Plato
  - d. Newton
9. **Plato was one of the most brilliant disciples of \_\_\_\_\_.**
- a. Socrates
  - b. Aristotle
  - c. Amyntas III
  - d. Glaucon
10. **\_\_\_\_\_, who can also be called the pioneer of Western Political Thought, viewed justice as a central question when dealing with politics.**
- a. Aristotle
  - b. Glaucon
  - c. Socrates
  - d. Plato

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# **HOBBS AND LOCKE**

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**STRUCTURE**

- 2.1 Learning Objective
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Hobbes - Natural State
- 2.4 The Doctrine of the Origin of the State or the Nature of the Contract
- 2.5 Principle of Individual Liberty and Rights
- 2.6 Locke- Human Nature
- 2.7 The State of Nature Establishment of Society and Government
- 2.8 Types of Government
- 2.9 Concept of Right to Proprietor or Sovereignty
- 2.10 Concept of Natural Rights
- 2.11 Chapter Summary
- 2.12 Review Questions
- 2.13 Multiple Choice Questions



## 2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

**After the study of this unit, you will be able to:**

- Hobbes principles of Individual Liberty and Rights
- Locke's State of nature establishment of society and government
- Types of Government by Locke
- Concept of natural rights

## 2.2 INTRODUCTION

Hobbes begins his discussion with a description of human passions and speech, our basic motions. Following this, Hobbes develops his account of the state of nature from the claim that human beings are naturally equal. By this he means that each individual possesses the natural right to preserve himself, and furthermore the natural right to claim all things, or seek all power, that he judges necessary to this end.

According to Hobbes, this rough equality of ability leads each person to have an equal hope of acquiring good things for himself. As individuals strive to accumulate goods, they compete with each other, and consequently create an atmosphere of distrust. The attempt to acquire things, and to preserve them from the encroachments of others, causes us to try to dominate and control those around us.

Hobbes's description of the state of nature proposes that what human beings want above all is to preserve their lives and their goods, and what they fear above all is violence at the hands of others. This desire to preserve ourselves against the threat of violent death is the core of Hobbesian psychology.

John Locke (1632-1704) is recognized as a captivating persona in the history of political philosophy whose intelligence of exposition and scale of scholarly activity had profound influence on the development of political thought. John Locke was an English philosopher and physician, generally regarded as one of the most persuasive of Enlightenment intellectuals and usually identified as the "Father of Liberalism". It can be said that liberalism as a political thought initiated with John Locke.

Locke anticipated a deep-seated conception of political philosophy construed from the principle of self-ownership and the corollary right to own property, which in turn is based on his famous assertion that a man earns ownership over a resource when he mixes his labour with it.

Locke begins by developing the idea of equality of human beings in the state of nature and their natural rights to life, liberty and the state of property. Following this description of the individual, he develops notions of the community and the civil society. Locke states that Government is based on the consent of the people and that legitimate government is limited, constituted by separation of powers.

Locke's conceptualization of sovereignty and its uses, combining theological, social, and political perspectives, testifies to his intellectual profundity that was spurred by his endeavour to re-traditionalize a changing world. First, by relying on the traditional, personality notion of polity, Locke developed a concept of sovereignty that bore the same sense of authority as the "right of commanding" attributable only to real persons. Second, he managed to reconcile the unitary nature of sovereignty with the plurality of its uses, mainly through a conception of the dual, vertical separation of functions, which implied degrees rather than kinds of sovereignty.

## 2.3 HOBBS – NATURAL STATE

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Thomas Hobbes presents himself as the first true political philosopher, the first to offer exact knowledge of justice, sovereignty, and citizenship. Hobbes claims, moreover, that his systematic political science will revolutionize political practice, enabling us to build more stable, peaceful, and productive societies.

In order to achieve these results, though, Hobbes must promote a view of the proper scope of politics that is narrower than that of the ancients. By focusing political energies on the preservation of life and its comforts, Hobbes helps to institute the proposal made earlier by Machiavelli: that politics should satisfy certain basic, morally neutral needs rather than aim to organize us around contentious principles.

Hobbes emphasizes several ideas that have become central to modern politics and modern political science. He argues that human beings are not naturally social or political, that the state of nature is a state of war, and that we must self-consciously create a government that is based on mutual consent and that presupposes a fundamental equality among its members. These ideas are most comprehensively set forth in the *Leviathan* (1651), which text serves as the basis for this introduction to Hobbes's thought.

Hobbes begins his discussion with a description of human passions and speech, our basic motions. Following this, Hobbes develops his account of the state of nature from the claim that human beings are naturally equal. By this he means that each individual possesses the natural right to preserve himself, and furthermore the natural right to claim all things, or seek all power, that he judges necessary to this end. Moreover, Hobbes writes, in the state of nature we are, for practical purposes, equal in physical and mental capacity, since no one is strong or smart enough to defend himself with certainty against the threats that arise from the efforts of other individuals to preserve themselves.

According to Hobbes, this rough equality of ability leads each person to have an equal hope of acquiring good things for himself. As individuals strive to accumulate goods, they compete with each other, and consequently create an atmosphere of distrust. The attempt to acquire things, and to preserve them from the encroachments of others, causes us to try to dominate and control those around us. Furthermore, Hobbes observes, some people care particularly to be known as that sort who can dominate—they are vainglorious or prideful individuals who are unhappy if they are not recognized as superior.

These three things—competition, distrust, and the desire for glory—throw humankind into a state of war, which is for Hobbes the natural condition of human life, the situation that exists whenever natural passions are unrestrained. This state of war should be distinguished from wars as we usually experience them, for in the natural state of war every individual faces every other individual as an enemy; it is the “war of every man against every man.” The total absence of collaboration makes us miserable, and renders life “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.”

Hobbes's description of the state of nature proposes that what human beings want above all is to preserve their lives and their goods, and what they fear above all is violence at the hands of others. This desire to preserve ourselves against the threat of violent death is the core of Hobbesian psychology. Hobbes suggests that his account will be ratified by honest introspection—after all, why else would we lock our doors at night?

## 2.4 THE DOCTRINE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE OR THE NATURE OF THE CONTRACT

The social contract theory is one of the theories of the origin of the state. It has been

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emerged since the time of the sophists of the Greece but it has got recognition in the hands of the great trio. The names of these great philosophers were – John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Jean Jacques Rousseau. The term social stands for the society where these individual persons live and the term contract is an agreement or a promise made between the two or more individual and a groups/society.

There were many other theories of the origin of the state but the social contract theory has explained the origin of state in a systematic manner. This theory states that the society or the state came into being by a contract that was made between the individual and the society or the contract that was made amongst the individual people. It states that the conditions in the state of nature at some point became worst and to come of this situation the people entered themselves into a contract and according to this contract the people will surrender some part of their right to the sovereign.

According to Hobbes people will surrender all their rights to the kings and king will not be a part of the contract, the king will be all sovereign whereas Locke says that the people will surrender only a part of their right to the king and is also a part of the contract and the people will have the right to change the king if he fails to fulfill his duties and Rousseau talks about the General Will, it is not the will of all nor it is the will of the majority but is a general will is the will of the people for the common good. But this theory of social contract has been criticized from the historical point of view, it is not acceptable.

History does not give single evidence which could indicate that there was a stable society. This theory is illogical and baseless. The progress of the society has been from status to contract, contract is not the beginning but the end of society. The contract cannot be made by only one party as one sided contract as expounded by Hobbes. The relation between individual and the state is not by contract but by birth.

## **2.5 PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND RIGHTS**

The received view of Thomas Hobbes's political theory defines the individual rights described by Hobbes as being, without exception, "liberty rights," that is, rights that are merely freedoms.<sup>1</sup> Liberty rights are not correlated with any duties or obligations on the part of others nor do they provide a ground for such duties or obligations; they therefore fall outside the definition of rights that is used in modern political and moral discourse (in other words, they are not claim rights).

As a consequence of this, what Hobbes has to say on the subject of rights is dismissed as of little or no interest to modern rights theory. Hobbes's theory of rights, if we could even call it a theory of rights, has been perceived as having little to contribute, either historically, to theories of natural rights (where Locke's political theory is still accepted as the starting point for modern theories of natural rights) or to contemporary discussions that seek to build theoretical foundations for rights without recourse to discredited theories of natural rights and natural law.

Hobbes writes of individualism, liberty, and equality as well. Since everyone is against everyone else in the state of nature, they must come together to form a social contract. This means that the individual comes before the society or government. In other words, the parts come before the whole. This belief forms the roots for the famous idea that government is created by the consent of the governed. Democratic governments today, especially in the United States, use this idea as a stepping stone to create their own constitutions.

Hobbes has a strong sense of liberty in his writing. He defines liberty as the "absence of external impediments of motion" (Hobbes 1997, 72). This means that someone has liberty

if he or she is able to do what they want, when they want, provided they are capable. Hobbes believes in a very strong negative notion of liberty which focuses on “freedom from” certain actions and situations.

This is similar to the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution which includes the freedom from unlawful searches and seizures. For Hobbes, the question of liberty is more concerned with what does not happen to the people rather than what does happen to them, hence his social contract focuses on protecting people from themselves and others instead of focusing on controlling what freedoms and rights the subjects have. If the sovereign does not make a law or mandate that prohibits an activity, the citizens are still free to participate in that activity. Hobbes calls this idea the “silence of the law” (Hobbes 1997, 120).

Therefore, in some areas of life, people will have more or less liberty than they would in other areas depending on the discretion of the sovereign. Hobbes also believes that humans are inherently equal. In *Leviathan* he comments, “And as to the faculties of the mind ... I find yet a greater equality amongst men, than that of strength” and “from this equality of ability, arises equality of hope in the attaining of our ends”. He admits that humans are not literally equal, but across the entire population traits such as intellect and athleticism even out and overall people are equal.

Again this shows that instead of attacking liberal ideals, Hobbes actually agrees with them. Regardless of the fact that he is advocating for a sovereign with supreme power, these statements demonstrate that it is only to maintain a secure and peaceful environment. Unlike other theories of absolutist rule in which the ruler has special characteristics or gifts, this idea means that the sovereign is no better than the subjects; it simply has the combined power of all of them in order to provide for their security in seeking out their fancies. It is evidence that Hobbes was planting the seeds of classical liberalism.

## **2.6 LOCKE- HUMAN NATURE**

John Locke (1632-1704) is recognized as a captivating persona in the history of political philosophy whose intelligence of exposition and scale of scholarly activity had profound influence on the development of political thought. John Locke was an English philosopher and physician, generally regarded as one of the most persuasive of Enlightenment intellectuals and usually identified as the “**Father of Liberalism**”. It can be said that liberalism as a political thought initiated with John Locke.

No political thinker had influenced political theorizing on two different countries in two different continents as Locke did. He was the controlling and spiritual predecessor of the 18th century enlightenment period, particularly for philosopher like Rousseau and Voltaire. He was accredited as the originator of modern empiricism with Hume, J.S. Mill, Russel as its exponents. He is equally important to social contract theory. His work greatly impacted the development of epistemology and political thinking. His writings influenced Voltaire and Rousseau, many Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, as well as the American insurgents. His contributions to classical republicanism and liberal theory are echoed in the United States Declaration of Independence.

Locke anticipated a deep-seated conception of political philosophy construed from the principle of self-ownership and the corollary right to own property, which in turn is based on his famous assertion that a man earns ownership over a resource when he mixes his labour with it. He argued that government should be limited to securing the life and property of its citizens, and is only necessary because in an ideal, anarchic state of nature, various problems rise that would make life more uncertain than under the protection of a minimal state.



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Locke is also renowned for his writings on toleration in which he adopted the right to freedom of conscience and religion, and for his forceful criticism of hereditary monarchy and patriarchalism. After his death, his mature political philosophy lent support to the British Whig party and its principles, to the Age of Enlightenment, and to the development of the separation of the State and Church in the American Constitution as well as to the rise of human rights theories in the Twentieth Century.

It is well identified that Locke exercised a deep influence on political philosophy, in particular on modern liberalism. Michael Zuckert has contended that Locke launched liberalism by moderating Hobbesian absolutism and evidently separating the monarchies of Church and State. He had a strong influence on Voltaire who called him "le sage Locke".

His arguments concerning liberty and the social contract later influenced the written works of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and other Founding Fathers of the United States. But Locke's influence may have been even more reflective in the realm of epistemology. Locke redefined subjectivity, or self, and intellectual historians such as Charles Taylor and Jerrold Seigel argue that Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) marks the commencement of the modern Western conception of the self.

## 2.7 THE STATE OF NATURE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

Locke begins by developing the idea of equality of human beings in the state of nature and their natural rights to life, liberty and the state of property. Following this description of the individual, he develops notions of the community and the civil society. Locke states that Government is based on the consent of the people and that legitimate government is limited, constituted by separation of powers.

To describe the origin of political power, Locke elaborated the State of Nature. Locke's description of State of Nature was not as miserable and pessimistic as Hobbes'. It is well established that the State of Nature is the stock in trade of all contract theories of the state. It is conceived as a state prior to the establishment of political society. Locke considered that man is a rational and social creature and as such capable of identifying and living in a moral order. He is not selfish, competitive and aggressive.

The Lockean state of nature, far from being a war of all is a state of 'Peace good will, mutual assistance and preservation". It signifies a pre-political rather than a pre-social condition. Men do not indulge in constant warfare in it, for peace and reason overcome in it. The state of nature is governed by a law of nature.

This law "obliges every one, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm one another in his life, health, liberty or possessions for men being all the workmanship of one almighty and infinitely wise maker. All the servants of sovereign master, sent into the world by his order, and about his business; they are his property whose workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one another's pleasure."

According to Locke's state of Nature, men have equal natural rights to life, liberty and property together known as Right to Property. These rights are unchallengeable and inviolable for they are derived from the Law of Nature which is God's reason. Everyone is bound by reason not only to preserve oneself but to preserve all mankind in so far as his own preservation does not come in conflict with it.



Men are free and equal and there is no commonly acknowledged superior whose orders they are obliged to obey. Everybody is the judge of his own actions. But though the natural condition is a state of liberty, it is not a state of license. Nobody has the right to destroy himself and destroy the life of other men. Because there is no common judge to punish the violation of natural law in the state of nature, every individual is William Ebenstein in his 'Great Political Thinkers' composed that the law of nature in the Lockean state of nature is lacking in three important points.

First, it is not adequately clear, if all men were guided by pure reason, they would all see the same law. But men are biased by their interests and mistake their interests for general rule of law. Second, there is no second party judge who has no personal state in dispute. Third, in the state of nature, the injured party is not always strong enough to execute the law. It can be assessed that in the Lockean state of nature, there are some short comings and inconveniences. Absence of a law making body law enforcing agency and an impartial judicial organ in the state of nature where the serious short comings in the state of nature.

It is concluded that the state of nature, while it is not a state of war is also not a tranquil condition, and it has to be superseded sooner or later. Conflict and uncertainties are bound to arise on account of the selfish tendencies in human nature. The state of nature is always in danger of being transformed into a state or war. Where everyone is the judge in his own case and has the sole authority to punish peace is bound to be endangered.

In spite of absence of authority, the state of nature is not a dissolute condition. As it is for Hobbes. Instead a condition of war of all against all. The state of nature is a moral condition, with a natural law, that commands peace and sociability, determining that no one should harm another person in their life, liberty or possessions. This state of nature for Locke is a moral state, in which natural law dictates peace and preservation. Locke initially starts by describing the conditions under which a 'just war' may occur in the state of nature. These natural rights of the individual and his right of the self-preservation and survival' become the element of the 'just war' against the offender.

Locke suggested that state of war is a state of insecurity and distress, similar to Hobbesian teachings. Despite the justification of the conflict from reason and the individual rights, the state of war maintains its structural elements, force and violence.

### **The Moral Role of Government**

Locke stated that political power is the natural power of each man cooperatively given up into the hands of a designated body. The setting up of government is much less important, Locke contemplates that this is original social-political "compact." A community surrenders some degree of its natural rights in favor of government, which is better able to protect those rights than any man could alone.

Because government exists specially for the welfare of the community, any government that breaks the compact can and should be substituted. The community has a moral obligation to upheaval against or otherwise replaces any government that forgets that it exists only for the people's benefit. Locke realized that it was important to thoroughly examine public institutions and be clear about what functions were legitimate and what areas of life were inappropriate for those institutions to participate in or exert influence over. He also believed that determining the proper role of government would allow humans to flourish as individuals and as societies, both materially and spiritually.

Because God gave man the ability to reason, the freedom that a properly executed government provides for humans amounts to the fulfillment of the divine purpose for



humanity. According to Locke, the moral order of natural law is permanent and self-perpetuating. Governments are only factors contributing to that moral order.

### **An Empirical Theory of Knowledge**

For Locke, all knowledge comes exclusively through experience. Locke's theory of mind is often mentioned as the basis of modern ideas of identity and the self, figuring conspicuously in the work of later philosophers such as Hume, Rousseau, and Kant. Locke was the first to define the self through a continuity of consciousness. He assumed that, at birth, the mind was a blank slate or *tabula rasa*. Conflicting to Cartesian philosophy based on pre-existing concepts, he sustained that people are born without innate ideas, and that knowledge is instead determined only by experience derived from sense perception.

He argued that humans fill with ideas as they experience the world through the five senses. Locke described knowledge as the connection and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy, of the ideas humans form. This description clearly indicates that our knowledge does not extend beyond the scope of human ideas. In fact, it would mean that our knowledge is even narrower than this description implies, because the connection between most simple human ideas is unknown. Because ideas are limited by experience, and we cannot possibly experience everything that exists in the world, our knowledge is further compromised.

Nevertheless, Locke proclaimed that though our knowledge is necessarily limited in these ways, we can still be certain of some things. For example, we have an intuitive and immediate knowledge of our own existence, even if we are unaware of the metaphysical essence of our souls. We also have a demonstrative knowledge of God's existence, though our understanding cannot fully comprehend who or what he is. We know other things through sensation. We know that our ideas correspond to external realities because the mind cannot invent such things without experience.

## **2.8 TYPES OF GOVERNMENT**

Locke's theory of government, like Hobbes', was based on social contract theory, but differed sharply from Hobbes in that Locke saw the nature of humanity as peaceful individuals pursuing their own aims. Government was needed to deal with occasional conflict, and people could devise such a government by agreeing among each other on rules that would give everyone equal standing before that government.

Locke believed, at the beginning of humanity, there existed "humans' natural state" which meant that people were free to do anything, including stealing, killing and such. Because of this, it was impossible to live, to develop and keep what was yours. That's why, Lock says, people came to conclusion and agreed to give some of their rights and freedom to one institute which then, by laws would be able to keep them safe. This kind of institute, created and given power by people is what Locke believe to be the right government.

Shortly, Locke favored government which was created because of society's wishes to be guarded and protected(for this, humans had to give some of their original, natural rights such as stealing, killing and so on) therefore Locke's ideal government needs society's will to exist and society needs government to be protected from each other.

## **2.9 CONCEPT OF RIGHT TO PROPRIETOR OR SOVEREIGNTY**

Locke's conceptualization of sovereignty and its uses, combining theological, social, and political perspectives, testifies to his intellectual profundity that was spurred by his endeavour to re-traditionalize a changing world. First, by relying on the traditional,



personality notion of polity, Locke developed a concept of sovereignty that bore the same sense of authority as the “right of commanding” attributable only to real persons. Second, he managed to reconcile the unitary nature of sovereignty with the plurality of its uses, mainly through a conception of the dual, vertical separation of functions, which implied degrees rather than kinds of sovereignty.

While absolute sovereignty belongs to God, Locke argued, relative sovereignty, separated into “potential” and “actual” sovereignty, is vested in the community on the grounds of the Edenic testament with God. The community, established by a fundamental, single contract, is divided into “society”—to fulfill the function of legislation, which signifies the potential sovereignty of the community, so as to cultivate common law, and into “government”—to undertake the execution, which signifies the actual sovereignty of the king, of common law so as to procure common wealth.

## **2.10 CONCEPT OF NATURAL RIGHTS**

Perhaps the most central concept in Locke’s political philosophy is his theory of natural law and natural rights. The natural law concept existed long before Locke as a way of expressing the idea that there were certain moral truths that applied to all people, regardless of the particular place where they lived or the agreements they had made. The most important early contrast was between laws that were by nature, and thus generally applicable, and those that were conventional and operated only in those places where the particular convention had been established. This distinction is sometimes formulated as the difference between natural law and positive law.

Natural law is also distinct from divine law in that the latter, in the Christian tradition, normally referred to those laws that God had directly revealed through prophets and other inspired writers. Natural law can be discovered by reason alone and applies to all people, while divine law can be discovered only through God’s special revelation and applies only to those to whom it is revealed and whom God specifically indicates are to be bound. Thus some seventeenth-century commentators, Locke included, held that not all of the 10 commandments, much less the rest of the Old Testament law, were binding on all people. The 10 commandments begin “Hear O Israel” and thus are only binding on the people to whom they were addressed.

As we will see below, even though Locke thought natural law could be known apart from special revelation, he saw no contradiction in God playing a part in the argument, so long as the relevant aspects of God’s character could be discovered by reason alone. In Locke’s theory, divine law and natural law are consistent and can overlap in content, but they are not coextensive. Thus there is no problem for Locke if the Bible commands a moral code that is stricter than the one that can be derived from natural law, but there is a real problem if the Bible teaches what is contrary to natural law.

In practice, Locke avoided this problem because consistency with natural law was one of the criteria he used when deciding the proper interpretation of Biblical passages. In the century before Locke, the language of natural rights also gained prominence through the writings of such thinkers as Grotius, Hobbes, and Pufendorf. Whereas natural law emphasized duties, natural rights normally emphasized privileges or claims to which an individual was entitled.

There is considerable disagreement as to how these factors are to be understood in relation to each other in Locke’s theory. Leo Strauss (1953), and many of his followers, take rights to be paramount, going so far as to portray Locke’s position as essentially similar to that of Hobbes. They point out that Locke defended a hedonist theory of human



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motivation and claim that he must agree with Hobbes about the essentially self-interested nature of human beings. Locke, they claim, recognizes natural law obligations only in those situations where our own preservation is not in conflict, further emphasizing that our right to preserve ourselves trumps any duties we may have.

On the other end of the spectrum, more scholars have adopted the view of Dunn (1969), Tully (1980), and Ashcraft (1986) that it is natural law, not natural rights, that are primary. They hold that when Locke emphasized the right to life, liberty, and property he was primarily making a point about the duties we have toward other people: duties not to kill, enslave, or steal. Most scholars also argue that Locke recognized a general duty to assist with the preservation of mankind, including a duty of charity to those who have no other way to procure their subsistence.

These scholars regard duties as primary in Locke because rights exist to ensure that we are able to fulfill our duties. Simmons (1992) takes a position similar to the latter group, but claims that rights are not just the flip side of duties in Locke, nor merely a means to performing our duties. Instead, rights and duties are equally fundamental because Locke believes in a “robust zone of indifference” in which rights protect our ability to make choices. While these choices cannot violate natural law, they are not a mere means to fulfilling natural law either. Brian Tierney (2014) questions whether one needs to prioritize natural law or natural right since both typically function as corollaries.

He argues that modern natural rights theories are a development from medieval conceptions of natural law that included permissions to act or not act in certain ways. There have been some attempts to find a compromise between these positions. Michael Zuckert’s (1994) version of the Straussian position acknowledges more differences between Hobbes and Locke. Zuckert still questions the sincerity of Locke’s theism, but thinks that Locke does develop a position that grounds property rights in the fact that human beings own themselves, something Hobbes denied. Adam Seagrave (2014) has gone a step further. He argues that the contradiction between Locke’s claim that human beings are owned by God and that human beings own themselves is only apparent. He bases this argument on passages from Locke’s other writings.

In the passages about divine ownership, Locke is speaking about humanity as a whole, while in the passages about self-ownership he is talking about individual human beings with the capacity for property ownership. God created human beings who are capable of having property rights with respect to one another on the basis of owning their labor. Both of them emphasize differences between Locke’s use of natural rights and the earlier tradition of natural law. Another point of contestation has to do with the extent to which Locke thought natural law could, in fact, be known by reason. Both Strauss (1953) and Peter Laslett (Introduction to Locke’s “Two Treatises”), though very different in their interpretations of Locke generally, see Locke’s theory of natural law as filled with contradictions.

Yet nowhere in any of his works does Locke make a full deduction of natural law from first premises. More than that, Locke at times seems to appeal to innate ideas in the “Second Treatise”, and in “The Reasonableness of Christianity” he admits that no one has ever worked out all of natural law from reason alone. Strauss infers from this that the contradictions exist to show the attentive reader that Locke does not really believe in natural law at all. Laslett, more conservatively, simply says that Locke the philosopher and Locke the political writer should be kept very separate. Many scholars reject this position. Yolton (1958), Colman (1883), Ashcraft (1987), Grant (1987), Simmons (1992), Tuckness (1999), Israelson (2013), Rossiter (2016), Connolly (2019), and others all argue

that there is nothing strictly inconsistent in Locke's admission in "The Reasonableness of Christianity".

That no one has deduced all of natural law from first principles does not mean that none of it has been deduced. The supposedly contradictory passages in the *Two Treatises* are far from decisive. While it is true that Locke does not provide a deduction, it is not clear that he was trying to. The work seems more concerned to show how reasoning with moral terms is possible, not to actually provide a full account of natural law. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that Locke did not treat the topic of natural law as systematically as one might like. Attempts to work out his theory in more detail with respect to its ground and its content must try to reconstruct it from scattered passages in many different texts.

To understand Locke's position on the ground of natural law it must be situated within a larger debate in natural law theory that predates Locke, the so-called "voluntarism-intellectualism," or "voluntarist-rationalist" debate. At its simplest, the voluntarist declares that right and wrong are determined by God's will and that we are obliged to obey the will of God simply because it is the will of God. Unless these positions are maintained, the voluntarist argues, God becomes superfluous to morality since both the content and the binding force of morality can be explained without reference to God. The intellectualist replies that this understanding makes morality arbitrary and fails to explain why we have an obligation to obey God. Graedon Zorzi (2019) has argued that "person" is a relational term for Locke, indicating that we will be held accountable by God for whether we have followed the law.

With respect to the grounds and content of natural law, Locke is not completely clear. On the one hand, there are many instances where he makes statements that sound voluntarist to the effect that law requires a legislator with authority. Locke also repeatedly insists in the *Essays on the Law of Nature* that created beings have an obligation to obey their creator. On the other hand there are statements that seem to imply an external moral standard to which God must conform.

Locke clearly wants to avoid the implication that the content of natural law is arbitrary. Several solutions have been proposed. One solution suggested by Herzog (1985) makes Locke an intellectualist by grounding our obligation to obey God on a prior duty of gratitude that exists independent of God. A second option, suggested by Simmons (1992), is simply to take Locke as a voluntarist since that is where the preponderance of his statements point.

A third option, suggested by Tuckness (1999) (and implied by Grant 1987 and affirmed by Israelson 2013), is to treat the question of voluntarism as having two different parts, grounds and content. On this view, Locke was indeed a voluntarist with respect to the question "why should we obey the law of nature?" Locke thought that reason, apart from the will of a superior, could only be advisory. With respect to content, divine reason and human reason must be sufficiently analogous that human beings can reason about what God likely wills. Locke takes it for granted that since God created us with reason in order to follow God's will, human reason and divine reason are sufficiently similar that natural law will not seem arbitrary to us.

Those interested in the contemporary relevance of Locke's political theory must confront its theological aspects. Straussians make Locke's theory relevant by claiming that the theological dimensions of his thought are primarily rhetorical; they were "cover" to keep him from being persecuted by the religious authorities of his day. Others, such as Dunn (1969) and Stanton (2018), take Locke to be of only limited relevance to contemporary politics precisely because so many of his arguments depend on religious assumptions



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that are no longer widely shared. Some authors, such as Simmons (1992) and Vernon (1997), have tried to separate the foundations of Locke's argument from other aspects of it. Simmons, for example, argues that Locke's thought is over-determined, containing both religious and secular arguments.

He claims that for Locke the fundamental law of nature is that "as much as possible mankind is to be preserved". At times, he claims, Locke presents this principle in rule-consequentiality terms: it is the principle we use to determine the more specific rights and duties that all have. At other times, Locke hints at a more Kantian justification that emphasizes the impropriety of treating our equals as if they were mere means to our ends. Waldron (2002) explores the opposite claim: that Locke's theology actually provides a more solid basis for his premise of political equality than do contemporary secular approaches that tend to simply assert equality.

With respect to the specific content of natural law, Locke never provides a comprehensive statement of what it requires. In the *Two Treatises*, Locke frequently states that the fundamental law of nature is that as much as possible mankind is to be preserved. Simmons (1992) argues that in *Two Treatises* Locke presents:

- a duty to preserve one's self
- a duty to preserve others when self-preservation does not conflict
- a duty not to take away the life of another, and
- a duty not to act in a way that "tends to destroy" others.

Libertarian interpreters of Locke tend to downplay duties of type 1 and 2. Locke presents a more extensive list in his earlier, and unpublished in his lifetime, *Essays on the Law of Nature*. Interestingly, Locke here includes praise and honor of the deity as required by natural law as well as what we might call good character qualities.

## 2.11 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Thomas Hobbes presents himself as the first true political philosopher, the first to offer exact knowledge of justice, sovereignty, and citizenship. Hobbes claims, moreover, that his systematic political science will revolutionize political practice, enabling us to build more stable, peaceful, and productive societies. The social contract theory is one of the theories of the origin of the state. It has been emerged since the time of the sophists of the Greece but it has got recognition in the hands of the great trio.

According to Hobbes people will surrender all their rights to the kings and king will not be a part of the contract, the king will be all sovereign whereas Locke says that the people will surrender only a part of their right to the king and is also a part of the contract and the people will have the right to change the king if he fails to fulfill his duties and Rousseau talks about the General Will, it is not the will of all nor it is the will of the majority but is a general will is the will of the people for the common good.

John Locke is recognized as a captivating persona in the history of political philosophy whose intelligence of exposition and scale of scholarly activity had profound influence on the development of political thought. No political thinker had influenced political theorizing on two different countries in two different continents as Locke did. He was the controlling and spiritual predecessor of the 18th century enlightenment period, particularly for philosopher like Rousseau and Voltaire. He was accredited as the originator of modern empiricism with Hume, J.S. Mill, Russel as its exponents.

Locke anticipated a deep-seated conception of political philosophy construed from the principle of self-ownership and the corollary right to own property, which in turn is based on his famous assertion that a man earns ownership over a resource when he mixes his labour with it. Locke's theory of government, like Hobbes', was based on social contract theory, but differed sharply from Hobbes in that Locke saw the nature of humanity as peaceful individuals pursuing their own aims.

Locke believed, at the beginning of humanity, there existed "humans' natural state" which meant that people were free to do anything, including stealing, killing and such. Because of this, it was impossible to live, to develop and keep what was yours. That's why, Lock says, people came to conclusion and agreed to give some of their rights and freedom to one institute which then, by laws would be able to keep them safe. This kind of institute, created and given power by people is what Locke believe to be the right government.

The natural law concept existed long before Locke as a way of expressing the idea that there were certain moral truths that applied to all people, regardless of the particular place where they lived or the agreements they had made. The most important early contrast was between laws that were by nature, and thus generally applicable, and those that were conventional and operated only in those places where the particular convention had been established. This distinction is sometimes formulated as the difference between natural law and positive law.

## 2.12 REVIEW QUESTIONS

### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. How does Locke define "political power"?
2. How does Locke justify the emerging inequality among people?
3. What is the difference between the state of nature and the state of war?
4. How does Locke justify the emerging inequality among people?
5. What do you understand by Hobbes natural state? Explain the same in brief.

### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What is the "natural state" of all human beings? How does Locke characterize this state?
2. What justification does Locke provide for the claim that it is wrong to do harm to one's life, liberty, health, or property?
3. Explain the Principle of Individual Liberty And Rights by Locke.
4. How Locke defined the concept of Right to Proprietor or Sovereignty?
5. What was the Empirical Theory of Knowledge according to Locke?

## 2.13 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. Hobbes notes that human beings are roughly equal in
  - a. Strength of body
  - b. Faculties of mind
  - c. Hope of attaining their ends
  - d. All of the above
2. In Hobbes's view, a law of nature is
  - a. A command of God.



- b. A principle of duty, known by intuition.
  - c. A principle, known by reason, which forbids one from doing something destructive of one's life.
  - d. None of the above.
3. **Hobbes maintains that the laws of nature are binding**
- a. Always both in foro interno and in foro externo.
  - b. Always in foro interno but not always in foro externo.
  - c. Always in foro externo but not always in foro interno.
  - d. Neither in foro externo nor in foro interno.
4. **Who was identified as 'Father of Liberalism'?**
- a. Hobbes
  - b. Locke
  - c. Aristotle
  - d. Plato
5. **According to John Locke, the best form of Government is?**
- a. Monarchy
  - b. Aristocracy
  - c. Democracy
  - d. None of these
6. **According to Hobbes and Locke Right to Liberty and Property are given by?**
- a. State
  - b. Nature
  - c. Society
  - d. Association
7. **Who said "Where there is no law, there is no freedom"?**
- a. Karl Marx
  - b. Locke
  - c. Herbert Spencer
  - d. Adam Smith
8. **According to Hobbes, life in the state of nature was \_\_\_\_\_.**
- a. Better than life in his own time
  - b. Free and noble
  - c. Poor, solitary, nasty, brutish, and short
  - d. Difficult but honest
9. **Hobbes claims that the first law of nature is**
- a. Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.
  - b. Seek peace, and follow it.
  - c. Never treat another human being as a means to your ends.
  - d. Always do what brings the greatest amount of good.

**10. According to Hobbes, the right of nature is**

- a. an entitlement to the fruits of one's labors.
- b. a claim not to be harmed by others.
- c. the right of the king to rule his subjects.
- d. the liberty to use one's powers to preserve one's life

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NOTES



**UNIT**

**III**

# **JEREMY BENTHAM**

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## **STRUCTURE**

- 3.1 Learning Objective
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Bentham's Theory of State
- 3.4 Doctrine of Hedonism
- 3.5 Utilitarianism J.S. Mill
- 3.6 Problem with Utilitarianism
- 3.7 Difference in Utilitarianism
- 3.8 Chapter Summary
- 3.9 Review Questions
- 3.10 Multiple Choice Questions



### 3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

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**After the study of this unit, you will be able to:**

- Learn about Bentham's Theory of State.
- Know about Doctrine of Hedonism.
- Learn about the Utilitarianism.
- Know about the Problem with Utilitarianism.
- Learn about the difference in Utilitarianism.

### 3.2 INTRODUCTION

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Utilitarianism is essentially a British school of political theory. It consisted of a group of writers, politicians, administrators and social reformers. The most famous members of the group are Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill. Their primary theoretical interest lay in conceiving a framework of political rules leading to a science of politics. In practice they emphasized on the utmost necessity of legal and social reform and evolving efficient political institutions.

Their impact in general and that of Bentham's own efforts at substantial reforms in particular drew substantial popular support. John Stuart Mill's tribute to Bentham as the father of British innovation and as a great critical thinker was justified. Bentham not only wanted to reform the social and legal institutions of his day, but was also a strong supporter of democratic reform-of universal suffrage, shorter annual Parliaments and the secret ballot.

He was the founder of a group called the Philosophical Radicals, who, influenced by the French revolution, and rejecting Burke's condemnation of it, advocated that social institutions should be judged by the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Any social practice, which did not advance this happiness, should be reformed.

Bentham was born in 1748 in England in the family of a wealthy and successful attorney. After an Oxford education at Queens College (1760-63), Bentham began attending the London law courts in 1763. In those days, the only way for would-be lawyers to learn about law was by attending court proceedings; it was Bentham's luck that from some years ago, the University of Oxford had begun organizing a series of lectures on law by William Blackstone. Bentham attended these lectures in 1763, and when Blackstone published his lectures as the famous Commentaries in 1765, Bentham caused quite a stir by writing an extremely critical commentary on a few paragraphs of this work.

Once he began, Bentham never seemed to stop writing, although most of his writings were fragmentary. It his friend, Etienne Dumont, a Genevan, who organized his early writings into a book form, and published them in translation in French as *A Theory of Legislation* in 1802. This work became available to Bentham's countrymen only when it had been translated back in to English in the 1820s. Among the writings of Bentham published originally in English are *A Fragment on Government* (1776), *Introduction to the Principles of Morals' and Legislation* (1789) and the *Constitutional Code* (1830).

The Code was supposed to be his magnum opus, and he had planned it as a three volume work, but he was able to publish only the first volume in his lifetime. Bentham was not so much a practicing lawyer as a legal reformer. Most of his work was written with the purpose of bringing about legal and political reformed in Britain. He even went to Russia as an adviser to Catherine the Great in 1785 and spent three years there. Back home, in

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the 1790s, he entered into a contract with the British government to undertake reform-to design and build a structure called the Panopticon—an ideal prison.

Extremely disappointed when this project fell through, he turned to the reform of political institutions. In 1809 he first met James Mill, who was to become his lifelong associate and together they set up, in 1824, the Westminster Review, 'a journal devoted to the philosophy of Utilitarianism. Bentham died in 1832 while the struggle for parliament reforms was on in England.

### 3.3 BENTHAM'S THEORY OF STATE

The state, according to Bentham and his followers, is a group of persons organized for the promotion and maintenance of utility—that is, to achieve greatest happiness or pleasure of the greatest number. Bentham had no interest in the investigation regarding the origin of state. He started his analysis with the presumption that there existed a political organization—state—by name. He then proceeds to explain what would be its function. He had no interest in the metaphysical, religious or ethical pursuits of state.

The state should focus its attention to the enhancement of citizen's pleasure or happiness. This is stark materialism. Later on Harold Laski said that the primary duty of state is to meet the effective demand of citizens. Though pleasure and effective demand do not follow in the same category there is a fine and interesting link between the two.

#### **Jeremy Bentham elsewhere said:**

"The community is a fictitious body composed of individual persons who are considered constituting, as it were, its members. The interest of the community is what? -The sum of the interests of the several members who compose it. It is vain to talk of the interests of the community, without understanding what is the interest of the individual. A thing is said to promote the interest or to be for the interest of an individual, when it tends to add to the sum total of his pleasures or, what comes to the same thing, to diminish the sum total of his pains."

The most important duty of state, according to Bentham, is promotion of happiness and alleviation of pain and the state performs this duty through the implementation of laws that are enacted by the legislator. Like Hobbes or Austin, Jeremy Bentham does not assign the law-making function to the absolute sovereignty; the legislator will do the job and the administrative sector will implement it.

Therefore the law of the state is supposed to be an instrument which enables authority to increase pleasure and avoid pain. He also observes that the function of the state may curtail the freedom of individuals. But this is to be accepted because, according to Bentham, happiness is more important than liberty. We, therefore, find that here is nothing in this world which may be compared with the pleasure of the individuals. Laws' is a restraint on the unwanted functions of some elements or persons. We, therefore, find that the law and the state are the chief actors in the field of attaining happiness and avoiding pleasure.

It has already been indicated that the state is the only creator of law. So the state is the supreme authority. We can say that Bentham's state is the sovereign state. In the words of Weyper "It is the hallmark of a sovereign state that nothing it does can be illegal".

Jeremy Bentham assumes that neither the law of nature nor the law of reason can limit the power of the state. His apprehension is that if the power of the state is limited, the greatest happiness principle may be affected. If the state fails to fulfill the demand of happiness its very justification will be at stake. The state is not only the source of law; it is also the source of rights. In his opinion there is no such thing as natural rights, it is simply

a figment of imagination. Natural rights are, simply, nonsense. Without state there cannot be any existence of rights.

Again, without state the realization of rights is impossible. This view of rights has been highly acclaimed by many. We may add a few words to his view on obedience to state. As such the individual has no right against the state or he cannot defy the order of the state on any flimsy ground. But if he finds that his continued obedience gives him more pain and less pleasure, he can disobey the state. Only on this ground he admits disobedience. The obligation of the individual to the state depends upon to what extent the latter is able to give pleasure and alleviate pain.

In Aristotle, the state was prior to individual. In Bentham, the individual is prior to state. His individual is endowed with reason and rationality and can make distinction between pain and pleasure, right and wrong. He can also calculate pleasure and pain. He even existed before the state. So the place of the state cannot be higher than that of the individual. The individuals do not exist for the state but the state exists for them. Bentham's state is, therefore, a trustee for the individuals.

Bentham's state stands for equal rights and equality in other respects. People enjoy not only equal rights, but they are also equal before law. He also suggests equality of property. When he speaks of equality he does not mean that there can be no inequality in the state. The inequality is inevitable in any real state, but too much of inequality is a hindrance to the attainment of happiness. "He recognized, and he was right in recognizing, that a society which is without gross inequalities of fortune is happier than one which is not".

Bentham's state is fundamentally a negative one. Its task is to maximize the happiness or pleasure and the state does it through the splendid weapon of law. But the state does not take any step to change the character of the individual. He does not recognize that happiness can be augmented by taking some positive steps which will change the character of the individuals. The state imagined by Bentham is not a place to develop what is best in him. He does not assign that function to the state. Wayper concluded – "For it is not the state that moulds the citizens, it is the citizens that mould the state".

### 3.4 DOCTRINE OF HEDONISM

The term "hedonism," from the Greek word ἡδονή (hēdonē) for pleasure, refers to several related theories about what is good for us, how we should behave, and what motivates us to behave in the way that we do. All hedonistic theories identify pleasure and pain as the only important elements of whatever phenomena they are designed to describe.

If hedonistic theories identified pleasure and pain as merely two important elements, instead of the only important elements of what they are describing, then they would not be nearly as unpopular as they all are. However, the claim that pleasure and pain are the only things of ultimate importance is what makes hedonism distinctive and philosophically interesting.

Philosophical hedonists tend to focus on hedonistic theories of value, and especially of well-being (the good life for the one living it). As a theory of value, hedonism states that all and only pleasure is intrinsically valuable and all and only pain is intrinsically not valuable. Hedonists usually define pleasure and pain broadly, such that both physical and mental phenomena are included.

Thus, a gentle massage and recalling a fond memory are both considered to cause pleasure and stubbing a toe and hearing about the death of a loved one are both considered to cause pain. With pleasure and pain so defined, hedonism as a theory about what is valuable



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for us is intuitively appealing. Indeed, its appeal is evidenced by the fact that nearly all historical and contemporary treatments of well-being allocate at least some space for discussion of hedonism. Unfortunately for hedonism, the discussions rarely endorse it and some even deplore its focus on pleasure.

Bentham advocates a doctrine of Hedonistic in two forms namely:

- Psychological Hedonism, which means all human actions are motivated by the desire to enjoy pleasure or prevent pain, and that is the only rational aim of human action,
- Ethical Hedonism, which means rightness or wrongness of an action, is determined by whether the action creates happiness or unhappiness.

The principle of sympathy and antipathy (i.e. the feeling of seamless acceptance or rejection for the expected results of action) is not enough basis to identify the moral rightness or wrongness of an action. In Bentham's theory, an action conforming to the principle of utility is right or at least not wrong, it ought to be done, or at least it is not the case that it ought not to be done.

### **Pleasure and Pain:-**

Bentham has classified the pleasure and pain on the basis of human psychology which illustrates as psychological hedonism.

### **Pleasures:**

- Pleasure of riches
- Pleasure of good reputation
- Pleasure of friendship
- Pleasure of knowledge
- Pleasure of social affection
- Pleasure of relief from pain which might vary with various kinds of pain, and
- Pleasure of good friendship and social affection.

### **Pain:**

- Pain of privation,
- Pain of sense including diseases of all kinds,
- Pain of skill
- Pain of enmity
- Pain of piety including feat of divine punishment
- Pain of knowledge and imagination

He also classified the pleasures and pain as sanctions and it divides into four categories as follows:-

- Physical sanction
- Political sanction
- Moral sanction
- Religious sanction

Bentham's claim that pain and pleasure determine what we do makes him a psychological hedonist, and more specifically a hedonist about the determination of action. This section

focuses instead on the more modest claim that only pleasure or displeasure motivates us. This form of psychological hedonism helpfully allows that some hedonic motivations of ours fail to determine our action, and that some of our hedonically determined actions fail actually to get us pleasure. Weakness of agency can see our motivation fail to generate our action (see weakness of will); and the related 'paradox of hedonism' is the plausible claim that some of our hedonically motivated or determined action actually secures less pleasure than we would otherwise have got.

### 3.5 UTILITARIANISM J.S. MILL

Utilitarianism is one of the most powerful and persuasive approaches to normative ethics in the history of philosophy. Though not fully articulated until the 19th century, proto-utilitarian positions can be discerned throughout the history of ethical theory.

Though there are many varieties of the view discussed, utilitarianism is generally held to be the view that the morally right action is the action that produces the most good. There are many ways to spell out this general claim. One thing to note is that the theory is a form of consequentialism: the right action is understood entirely in terms of consequences produced. What distinguishes utilitarianism from egoism has to do with the scope of the relevant consequences. On the utilitarian view one ought to maximize the overall good — that is, consider the good of others as well as one's own good.

The Classical Utilitarian, Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, identified the good with pleasure, so, like Epicurus, were hedonists about value. They also held that we ought to maximize the good, that is, bring about 'the greatest amount of good for the greatest number'.

Utilitarianism is also distinguished by impartiality and agent-neutrality. Everyone's happiness counts the same. When one maximizes the good, it is the good impartially considered.

My good counts for no more than anyone else are good. Further, the reason I have to promote the overall good is the same reason anyone else has to so promote the good. It is not peculiar to me.

All of these features of this approach to moral evaluation and/or moral decision-making have proven to be somewhat controversial and subsequent controversies have led to changes in the Classical version of the theory.

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a follower of Bentham, and, through most of his life, greatly admired Bentham's work even though he disagreed with some of Bentham's claims — particularly on the nature of 'happiness.' Bentham, recall, had held that there were no qualitative differences between pleasures, only quantitative ones. This left him open to a variety of criticisms. First, Bentham's Hedonism was too egalitarian. Simple-minded pleasures, sensual pleasures, were just as good, at least intrinsically, than more sophisticated and complex pleasures.

The pleasure of drinking a beer in front of the T.V. surely doesn't rate as highly as the pleasure one gets solving a complicated math problem, or reading a poem, or listening to Mozart. Second, Bentham's view that there were no qualitative differences in pleasures also left him open to the complaint that on his view human pleasures were of no more value than animal pleasures and, third, committed him to the corollary that the moral status of animals, tied to their sentience, was the same as that of humans. While harming a puppy and harming a person are both bad, however, most people had the view that harming the person was worse.



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Mill sought changes to the theory that could accommodate those sorts of intuitions. To this end, Mill's hedonism was influenced by perfectionist intuitions. There are some pleasures that are more fitting than others. Intellectual pleasures are of a higher, better, sort than the ones that are merely sensual, and that we share with animals. To some this seems to mean that Mill really wasn't a hedonistic utilitarian. His view of the good did radically depart from Bentham's view.

However, like Bentham, the good still consists in pleasure; it is still a psychological state. There is certainly that similarity. Further, the basic structures of the theories are the same (for more on this see Donner 1991). While it is true that Mill is more comfortable with notions like 'rights' this does not mean that he, in actuality, rejected utilitarianism. The rationale for all the rights he recognizes is utilitarian.

Mill's 'proof' of the claim that intellectual pleasures are better in kind than others, though, is highly suspect. He doesn't attempt a mere appeal to raw intuition. Instead, he argues that those persons who have experienced both view the higher as better than the lower. Who would rather be a happy oyster, living an enormously long life, than a person living a normal life? Or, to use his most famous example — it is better to be Socrates 'dissatisfied' than a fool 'satisfied.' In this way Mill was able to solve a problem for utilitarianism.

Mill also argued that the principle could be proven, using another rather notorious argument:

The only proof capable of being given that an object is visible is that people actually see it.... In like manner, I apprehend, the sole evidence it is possible to produce that anything is desirable is that people do actually desire it. If the end which the utilitarian doctrine proposes to itself were not, in theory and in practice, acknowledged to be an end, nothing could ever convince any person that it was so.

Mill then continues to argue that people desire happiness — the utilitarian end — and that the general happiness is "a good to the aggregate of all persons." G. E. Moore (1873–1958) criticized this as fallacious. He argued that it rested on an obvious ambiguity:

Mill has made as naïve and artless a use of the naturalistic fallacy as anybody could desire. "Good", he tells us, means "desirable", and you can only find out what is desirable by seeking to find out what is actually desired. The fact is that "desirable" does not mean "able to be desired" as "visible" means "able to be seen." The desirable means simply what ought to be desired or deserves to be desired; just as the detestable means not what can be but what ought to be detested.

It should be noted, however, that Mill was offering this as an alternative to Bentham's view which had been itself criticized as a 'swine morality,' locating the good in pleasure in a kind of indiscriminate way. The distinctions he makes strike many as intuitively plausible ones. Bentham, however, can accommodate many of the same intuitions within his system. This is because he notes that there are a variety of parameters along which we quantitatively measure pleasure — intensity and duration are just two of those.

His complete list is the following: intensity, duration, certainty or uncertainty, propinquity or remoteness, fecundity, purity, and extent. Thus, what Mill calls the intellectual pleasures will score more highly than the sensual ones along several parameters, and this could give us reason to prefer those pleasures — but it is a quantitative not a qualitative reason, on Bentham's view. When a student decides to study for an exam rather than go to a party, for example, she is making the best decision even though she is sacrificing short term pleasure.



That's because studying for the exam, Bentham could argue, scores higher in terms of the long term pleasures doing well in school lead to, as well as the fecundity of the pleasure in leading to yet other pleasures. However, Bentham will have to concede that the very happy oyster that lives a very long time could, in principle, have a better life than a normal human.

Mill's version of utilitarianism differed from Bentham's also in that he placed weight on the effectiveness of internal sanctions — emotions like guilt and remorse which serve to regulate our actions. This is an off-shoot of the different view of human nature adopted by Mill. We are the sorts of beings that have social feelings, feelings for others, not just ourselves. We care about them, and when we perceive harms to them this causes painful experiences in us.

When one perceives oneself to be the agent of that harm, the negative emotions are centered on the self. One feels guilt for what one has done, not for what one sees another doing. Like external forms of punishment, internal sanctions are instrumentally very important to appropriate action. Mill also held that natural features of human psychology, such as conscience and a sense of justice, underwrite motivation. The sense of justice, for example, results from very natural impulses. Part of this sense involves a desire to punish those who have harmed others, and this desire in turn "is a spontaneous outgrowth from two sentiments, both in the highest degree natural; the impulse of self-defense, and the feeling of sympathy."

Of course, he goes on, the justification must be a separate issue. The feeling is there naturally, but it is our 'enlarged' sense, our capacity to include the welfare of others into our considerations, and make intelligent decisions, that gives it the right normative force. Like Bentham, Mill sought to use utilitarianism to inform law and social policy. The aim of increasing happiness underlies his arguments for women's suffrage and free speech.

We can be said to have certain rights, then — but those rights are underwritten by utility. If one can show that a purported right or duty is harmful, then one has shown that it is not genuine. One of Mill's most famous arguments to this effect can be found in his writing on women's suffrage when he discusses the ideal marriage of partners, noting that the ideal exists between individuals of "cultivated faculties" who influence each other equally.

Improving the social status of women was important because they were capable of these cultivated faculties, and denying them access to education and other opportunities for development is forgoing a significant source of happiness. Further, the men who would deny women the opportunity for education, self-improvement, and political expression do so out of base motives, and the resulting pleasures are not ones that are of the best sort.

Bentham and Mill both attacked social traditions that were justified by appeals to natural order. The correct appeal is to utility itself. Traditions often turned out to be "relics" of "barbarous" times, and appeals to nature as a form of justification were just ways to try rationalize continued deference to those relics.

In the latter part of the 20th century some writers criticized utilitarianism for its failure to accommodate virtue evaluation. However, though virtue is not the central normative concept in Mill's theory, it is an extremely important one. In Chapter 4 of *Utilitarianism* Mill noted

Does the utilitarian doctrine deny that people desire virtue, or maintain that virtue is not a thing to be desired? The very reverse. It maintains not only that virtue is to be desired,

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but also that it is to be desired disinterestedly, for itself. Whatever may be the opinion of utilitarian moralists as to the original conditions by which virtue is made virtue?

They not only place virtue at the very head of things which are good as a means to the ultimate end, but they also recognize as a psychological fact the possibility of its being, to the individual, a good in itself, without looking to any end beyond it; and hold, that the mind is not in a right state, not in a state conformable to Utility, not in the state most conducive to the general happiness, unless it does love virtue in this manner.

In Utilitarianism Mill argues that virtue not only has instrumental value, but is constitutive of the good life. A person without virtue is morally lacking, is not as able to promote the good. However, this view of virtue is someone complicated by rather cryptic remarks Mill makes about virtue in his *A System of Logic* in the section in which he discusses the “Art of Life.” There he seems to associate virtue with aesthetics, and morality is reserved for the sphere of ‘right’ or ‘duty’.

Wendy Donner notes that separating virtue from right allows Mill to solve another problem for the theory: the demanding problem (Donner 2011). This is the problem that holds that if we ought to maximize utility, if that is the right thing to do, then doing right requires enormous sacrifices (under actual conditions), and that requiring such sacrifices is too demanding. With duties, on Mill’s view, it is important that we get compliance, and that justifies coercion. In the case of virtue, however, virtuous actions are those which it is “for the general interest that they remain free.”

### 3.6 PROBLEM WITH UTILITARIANISM

Utilitarianism as a sub-category of consequentialism means the theory has many of the same benefits and drawbacks. There are problems specific to utilitarianism. We illustrate examples of drawbacks with hypothetical situations.

First, utilitarianism can justify making decisions that violate a person’s human rights. What may be considered good for some people can violate rights of others. An example of this problem is a wealthy person who needs an organ transplant. If the wealthy person offers to donate a large sum of money to a charity to help thousands in exchange for being the top of the list for an organ transplant, utilitarianism says the wealthy person should be placed at the top of the list. Why? Because more good comes results from the wealthy person receiving the organ than would result if the next person on the list receives the organ. However, the next person on the list for the organ has the right to receive the organ first, and it seems unfair for the wealthy person to use her wealth as an advantage.

Another problem with utilitarianism is that it requires an impartial decision maker. Total impartiality does not allow special relationships like friends or family. The decision maker naturally considers the good of people close to her before more distant stakeholders. The celebrated train dilemma illustrates the impartiality problem. Suppose you can save a trainload of people heading for a collapsed bridge by pulling a switch to re-route the train. In doing so, your wife and children will certainly die because they are in the path of the train if it takes the alternate route. Many will not knowingly sacrifice their family for strangers. But utilitarianism forces the decision maker to weigh the overall good. Depending on the number of people on the train one may have to sacrifice the family.

A final criticism of utilitarianism is that it answers the question “what decision is right?” by answering “what decision brings about the most good, pleasure or happiness?” But the questions are not the same. It does not necessarily and logically follow the answer to one question will be the answer to the other. (Rachels) The argument is especially pertinent





when applying act utilitarianism and thinking only of the consequences in the immediate future. For example, we can use utilitarianism to justify lying to another person to avoid immediate negative consequences of hurting feelings or damaging the relationship. But if no one ever provides truthful answers to tough questions adverse long-term consequences can result. The lie lead to further bad decisions made from ignorance or bad information, leading to far more dire consequences.

- **Utilitarian Calculations**

We apply utilitarian calculations on whether it is right to save a large private business from bankruptcy. These calculations are meant to illustrate the use of utilitarianism and are not comprehensive to the extent that all possible short and long-term consequences have been considered.

- **General Motors Bailout**

Consider the bailout of General Motors (GM). Is it right to use government, *i.e.*, taxpayers' money to rescue a private corporation?

First, who are the primary stakeholders affected?

- Government
- Taxpayers
- GM
- Employees
- Shareholders

The secondary stakeholders are:

- Customers
- Suppliers
- Competitors

Second, examine the consequences for these stakeholders, and evaluate their significance.

- **For government:**

Negative consequences: generating a moral hazard. Large private companies will take on risk knowing the government will bail them out because they are perceived to be too large to fail. Without bankruptcy, firms will evaluate risk incorrectly.

Positive consequences: unemployment will not skyrocket in Michigan and its environs. Government will not have to pay unemployment benefits and there will not be a spiraling down effect on the economy.

- **For taxpayers:**

Negative consequences: Losing tax dollars that can be spent elsewhere. A probable consequence is a cut in spending on other government projects such as infrastructure or welfare. The initial desired positive consequence: a stable business environment. The long-term desired consequences are stable to growing employment and a stronger economic community.

- **For General Motors:**

Positive consequences: the desired positive consequence for the bailout is to continue or even strengthen its business, avoid bankruptcy, and maintain the company's reputation with customers. Although the bailout itself hurts the company's reputation, an actual bankruptcy could be worse for its reputation among consumers.

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Negative consequences: government control in GM's operations and the required changes that are be painful and costly to make. However, a long-term consequence could be that the changes made would not be drastic enough. Even with the bailout, GM may go bankrupt in the future anyway.

- **For employees:**

Positive consequences: A very positive consequence for GM employees is that fewer people are laid off. Same positive consequence applies to GM suppliers and their employees. Uninterrupted production means more business and job stability.

For competitors, the bailout would be short term negative, because they may gain more market share. Losing out on that extra market share also has negative consequences for the people who work for the competition such as lower wages resulting from lower sales.

Ultimately, we need to consider if the positive consequences are greater than the negative consequences. If the positive does outweigh the negative consequences, then we arrive at a decision that says it is ethical for government to bailout GM. That decision creates the most good or happiness for the greatest number of people.



### Numerical Example- Insider Trading

The second example is on insider trading. This example attempts to assign numerical weights to consequences to arrive at a decision. Recall, the principle driving utilitarianism is to choose the decision that leads to the most good for the greatest number. We need to examine the consequences for those affected either directly or indirectly.

The primary stakeholders in the decision on whether to commit insider trading is the person wanting to do insider trading (the tipped), the person who gives the insider information (the tipper), and the company about which they have the information. Secondary stakeholders are other investors in the market.

The primary purpose of insider trading is to make money for the insider involved. This is a huge positive consequence, especially when viewing the decision as an egoist. On the other hand, the insider may go to jail, not a pleasurable experience by any account. Another possible positive consequence is that those who get rich from insider trading will be benefactors to society through their philanthropy for instance.

For society at large, insider trading means trading unfairly through information not available to the market. This unfairness may cause people to stop participating in the market because the market is viewed as an unlevel playing field. If people do not participate in the market, the market will slowly wither. If the market suffers, capital formation and allocation also will suffer and in the longer term, the economy as a whole suffers.

**Decision:** To participate in insider trading or not?

In this example, the total weight of positive consequences is much lower than the weight of the negative consequences, and thus the possible amount of happiness produced is greatly outweighed by the possible unhappiness- the decision should be to avoid participating in insider trading. From this utilitarian calculation, insider trading is unethical.

### 3.7 DIFFERENCE IN UTILITARIANISM

The main differences between Bentham theory and Mill theory are:

- Bentham advocated that the pleasures and the pains differ in quantity and not in quality. He said that pains and pleasures can be computed mathematically. But Mill said that pain and pleasure can't be measured arithmetically they differ in quality only.
- According to Bentham utilitarianism there is a gulf between individual interest and general happiness. But Mill narrowed down the gulf between individual interest and general happiness.
- Bentham recognized only external sanctions. But Mill recognized not only external, but internal sanctions also which would constrain the individual to promote general happiness, because every individual possesses a feeling for the happiness of mankind.
- Bentham's principle of utility, in a society of wolves, would exalt wolfishness; in a society of saint it would exalt saintliness. But according to Mill saintliness should be the criterion of utility in any society whatsoever.
- Bentham utilitarianism supports the greatest good of the greatest number. But here there is a chance for suppression of minorities' rights. So, Mill supported individualism.
- Bentham supported democratic government in any condition but Mill supported monarchy for primitive man and democratic government for people who are able to understand value of democratic government. It means Mill supported democracy based on condition of man.
- Bentham purely did not accept State's intervention in the individual's liberty. But Mill supported State control over the institution of private property by holding that it can well impose taxation on the socially-created values.

However, Mill reformed Utilitarian concept with his liberal thoughts. But according to criticism made by Wapner In all these alterations that he makes in Benthamism, Mill may think that he is defending it, but in fact he is destroying it.

### 3.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Jeremy Bentham assumes that neither the law of nature nor the law of reason can limit the power of the state. His apprehension is that if the power of the state is limited, the greatest happiness principle may be affected. If the state fails to fulfill the demand of happiness its very justification will be at stake. The state is not only the source of law; it is also the source of rights. In his opinion there is no such thing as natural rights, it is simply a figment of imagination. Natural rights are, simply, nonsense. Without state there cannot be any existence of rights.

Utilitarianism has important implications for how we should think about leading an ethical life.

The theory rejects an intrinsic moral difference between doing and allowing harm. This position contributes to the demandingness of utilitarianism, since it implies that whenever we decide not to help another person, we are complicit in their misery.

By the lights of utilitarianism, we should choose carefully which moral problems to work on and by what means, based on where we can do the most good. We should extend our

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moral concern to all sentient beings, meaning every individual capable of experiencing happiness or suffering. Utilitarianism urges us to consider the well-being of all individuals regardless of what species they belong to, what country they live in, and at what point in time they exist.

Though utilitarians should try to use their lives to do the most good they can, in practice, they should do so while respecting commonsense moral virtues like honesty, integrity, fairness and law-abidingness. There are reasons we do not see utilitarians robbing banks to donate the proceeds: these commonsense moral prohibitions help society to function smoothly, and any naive calculation that violating such a prohibition would promote the greater good is almost always mistaken.

### 3.9 REVIEW QUESTIONS

#### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. Briefly explain the difference in Utilitarianism.
2. How is utilitarianism different from classical hedonism?
3. What is state according to Bentham?
4. Who was John Stuart Mill? Explain his version of Utilitarianism.
5. Explain Bentham's classification of pleasure and pain on the basis of human psychology

#### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What are some objections to using the utilitarian principle as a basis for making moral judgments?
2. How (and by whom) are certain activities judged to be qualitatively superior in terms of producing pleasure?
3. What is the problem with Utilitarianism? Explain the same in detail.
4. Define Hedonism. What do you understand by "Doctrine of Hedonism"?
5. Explain Bentham's 'Theory of State' in detail.

### 3.10 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. Mill defines "utility" as:
  - a. Usefulness for some craft.
  - b. Usefulness to society.
  - c. Pleasure and the absence of pain.
  - d. It promotes the interests of all and does not harm anyone.
2. When faced with the complaint that utilitarianism is a doctrine worthy of swine, Mill responds that pleasures differ in:
  - a. Purity
  - b. Quality
  - c. Species
  - d. Weight
3. Mill claims that a happy life is one of:
  - a. Tranquility
  - b. Excitement
  - c. Both a and b

- d. Neither a nor b
4. **According to Bentham, the principle of utility is appropriately applied to**
- Individuals
  - Governments
  - Both a and b
  - Neither a nor b
5. **According to Bentham, a moral sanction is:**
- Pleasure or pain inflicted by chance members of the community
  - Pleasure or pain inflicted by a judge in accordance with a rule
  - Pleasure or pain that it is permissible to inflict on someone
  - None of the above
6. **Bentham claims that actions are right or wrong in virtue of:**
- The motives behind them
  - Their consequences
  - Both a and b
  - Neither a nor b
7. **Bentham claims that utilitarian calculations:**
- Should be performed prior to each action
  - Need not be performed before each action, but should always be kept in mind
  - Are merely a formal device, and do not have practical application
  - Are fundamentally flawed
8. **Concerning the relationship between morality and theology, Bentham claims that:**
- We must first know whether something is right before we can know whether it conforms to God's will
  - We must first know whether something conforms to God's will before we can know that it is right
  - God exists, but does not concern himself with matters of morality
  - God does not exist
9. **Bentham claims that nature has placed mankind under two sovereign masters:**
- Pain and pleasure
  - Good and evil
  - God and the devil
  - Duty and self-interest
10. **Mill argues that virtue:**
- Is not desirable
  - Is desirable only as a means to one's own happiness
  - Is desirable only as a means to the happiness of others
  - Is desirable as part of one's happiness

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# **KAUTILYA AND MACHIABELLI**

**STRUCTURE**

- 4.1 Learning Objective
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Political Thoughts of Kautilya
- 4.4 Type of Government
- 4.5 Origin of the State
- 4.6 Inter-State Relations
- 4.7 Ruler
- 4.8 Council of Ministers
- 4.9 Machiavelli- Human Nature
- 4.10 Concept of State
- 4.11 Ethics and Politics
- 4.12 Nature of State
- 4.13 Chapter Summary
- 4.14 Review Questions
- 4.15 Multiple Choice Questions

## 4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

**After the study of this unit, you will be able to :**

- Learn about the political thoughts of Kautilya
- Know about the type of Government by Kautilya
- Learn about the Origin of State according to Kautilya
- Understand the role of Council of Ministers
- Learn about Human nature according to Machiavelli
- Understand the Ethics and Politics
- Know about the Nature of State

## 4.2 INTRODUCTION

More than 2,000 years ago, some time during the last half of the fourth century BCE, Vishnugupta Chanakya (son of Chanak) Kautilya, who was addressed as an Acharya (professor) and statesman, wrote 'The Arthashastra' – the science of wealth and welfare. It contains 150 chapters, which are distributed among 15 books. Writing style in ancient India was quite different from that of today. Generally, the ancient writers used to express their ideas in the third person to avoid any appearance of being egoistic. 'The Arthashastra' develops three interlinked and mutually complementary parts:

- Arthaniti (economic policies) to promote economic growth;
- Dandaniti (administration of justice) to ensure judicial fairness; and
- Videshniti (foreign affairs policy) to maintain independence and to expand the kingdom.

Kautilya was an independent thinker and it would be an error to label him as an administrator. He has been credited with destroying the Nanda rule and installing Chandragupta Maurya (321 BCE-297 BCE) on the throne. However, there is no reference to the emperor Chandragupta or to his kingdom Magadha in The Arthashastra since it was meant to be a theoretical treatise. Kautilya believed that the establishment of a rule of law, an impartial judicial system, and private property rights, devising an incentive mechanism to ensure efficient and honest government officials, encouraging dharma (ethics), the moral and spiritual rules of human behavior, provision of infrastructure and capital formation were the key ingredients for the creation of a prosperous, safe and secure nation.

Kautilya as a founder of political economy: It is claimed that Kautilya is an early pioneer of political economy before Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. A strong critique of the prevailing orthodoxies regarding the origins of economics and Adam Smith being its founding father is provided. It is not claimed that Kautilya provides any formal proofs or offers fully developed concepts or that The Arthashastra is as sophisticated as Samuelson's (1947) foundations.

But it can be claimed that Kautilya's Arthashastra is much more pragmatic, more consistent, broader in scope and, analytically more rigorous than Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. It is shown that despite the non-availability of modern analytical tools to him, his economic analysis was reasonably organized, adequately developed, and applied to a variety of problems. The Arthashastra contains a sufficient number of coherent economic concepts and hypotheses and an inter-dependent system of relationships. Table I provides a partial list of some of the concepts originated and appropriately used by Kautilya.

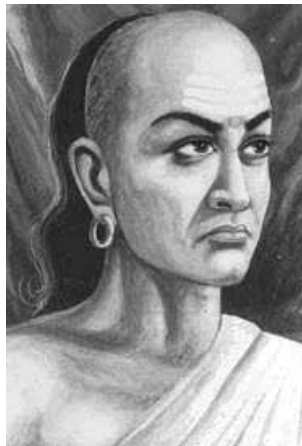
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Undoubtedly, the social, the political and the economic institutions and conditions prevailing at the time of Kautilya during the fourth century BCE were markedly different from those of today. Yet, remarkably almost all of his insights, concepts, and methodology are as relevant today in our post-industrialized, and globalized world as they were in his time. The Arthashastra far removed from the heat of current controversies provides a clearer picture of universal human tendencies, such as risk-aversion, rent-seeking and greed and Kautilya recommends that society should tirelessly search for ways to reduce risk and contain excessive greed and rent-seeking activities.

Let's learn more in the unit ahead!

### 4.3 POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF KAUTILYA



Chanakya was a polymath from ancient India who worked as a teacher, author, strategist, philosopher, economist, jurist, and royal counselor. He is commonly recognized as Kautilya or Vishnugupta, the author of the Arthashastra, an ancient Indian political treatise written during the fourth and third centuries BCE. As a result, he is regarded as a forefather of political science and economics in India, and his work is regarded as an essential forerunner to classical economics. The most famous educational centre during the period of Mauryan age was 'Takshila'.

His writings were lost towards the end of the Gupta Empire in the sixth century CE and were not found again until the early twentieth century. Around 321 BCE, Chanakya aided the first Mauryan ruler Chandragupta in his ascent to power and is usually regarded with helping to build the Mauryan Empire. Both Chandragupta and his son Bindusara appointed Chanakya as their top counsellor. Chanakya is credited with two books: Arthashastra and Chanakya Niti, commonly known as Chanakya Neeti-shastra.

Chanakya expounded many ideas on political science, ethics, economy, statecraft, espionage, military strategies, etc. His philosophy finds resonance in today's world also especially in the field of politics, management, and even personal life. The historical process of tradition of Indian Politics is primeval and traced back to the period of Vedas. The deliberations regarding politics are found in 'smritis' and 'puranas' by the name 'dandaniti'. References to various political texts are available which studied and discovered the concept of 'dandaniti'.

It is possibly Kautilya's Arthashastra which stands out to be systematically scientific and most authoritative explanations of these prehistoric studies. Arthashastra was Transcribed in around 4th century BC by the Prime Minister of The Great Mauryan Empire Kautilya, also called Chanakya or Vishnugupta. Arthashastra is one of the most persuasive and comprehensive treatises in Political Science in the Indian Vedic Civilization. Regarded as essence of ancient Vedic wisdom in politics and economics, Arthashastra has noteworthy significance in modern times with some inquisitive resonance with the thoughts and theories of various philosophers, economists and political scientists around the globe.

#### Arthashastra:

The Arthashastra is a primeval Indian discourse on statecraft, economic policy and military strategy, written in Sanskrit. It had wide influence on Sanskrit literature. The Mahaubhaurata mentions a number of schools of Arthashastra principle, and the names of previous writers from the fifth century B.C. agreed with those found in the Arthashastra of



Kautilya. Kautilya, also recognized as Vishnugupta and Chanakya, is traditionally credited as the author of the text.

Arthashastra entails the science (sastra) of wealth/earth/polity (artha). 'Artha' however is bit wider and an all-embracing term with different meanings. In 'Arthashastra' itself, it is being used in various contexts, indicated by L N Rangarajan in his translation of Kautilya -Arthashastra. It is used in the sense of material well-being, in livelihood, economically productive activity trade etc. This is alike with 'wealth' which is defined in 'Wealth of Nations'. In simple way, 'arthashastra' can be explained as 'science and art of politics and diplomacy'.

This treatise is divided into sixteen books dealing with virtually every topic concerned with the running of a state, taxation, law, diplomacy, military strategy, economics, bureaucracy etc. The book is a masterwork which includes an array of topics like statecraft, politics, strategy, selection and training of employees, leadership skills, legal systems, accounting systems, taxation, fiscal policies, civil rules, internal and foreign trade etc. Arthashastra backs rational ethic to the conduct of the affairs of the state. The emphasis is on systematisation of law and uniformity of law throughout the empire.

Kautilya's Arthashastra is magnificent work on ancient political thought which was undoubtedly composed between 3rd-2nd Century B.C. Kautilya was the great Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya. Kautilya's Arthashastra is mainly a work on the art of government. In his political and administrative ideas, the focus of attention was the king. According to his beliefs, for the smooth functioning of administration and for the welfare of the people, the king had to be acquainted in the four Vedas and four sciences of government (Anvikashaki Trai, Varta and Dandaniti). Kautilya's administrative and judicial structure was hierarchical in nature. As for impartiality, he emphasised on the principal of equity and immediacy.

As for law and order, he believed that law was an imperial command enforced by sanctions. Dissimilar many other authors in the community, Kautilya is exceptional Indian political philosopher who was both thinker and statesman. He contributed in various social and political revolutions of his Age and abstracted from his study of conflicts some general principles capable of universal application and effective in all times and ages. With more and more studies in the field of politics and economics and with a modern outlook and understanding of world affairs, the significance and indebtedness of Kautilya's 'arthashastra' is incontrovertible.

Kautilya's arthashastra had wide influence of Sanskrit literature (Sharma, 2001). In the previous stages of its history, the science of politics was termed *raujadharm*, but when the study was extended to include both politics and economics, it was called *arthashastra*, (In treatises which emphasize that fear of retribution is the real basis of order, the term *dandaniti* is sometimes employed.) Most political thought presumed the existence of a monarchical form of government, and politics was consequently demarcated as the science of monarchy. The intent of arthashastra texts was to guide the king and his ministers, and they included such subjects as public administration, economic regulation, foreign policy, techniques of warfare, and civil law. The most significant of these works is the treatise generally attributed to Kautilya, the minister of the first Mauryan ruler.

Arthashastra, written in Sanskrit debates theories and principles of governing a state. It is not an account of Maurya administration. The title Arthashastra, which means "the science of material Gain" or "science of Polity", does not leave any doubts about its ends. Kautilya asserted that the ruler should use any means to attain his goal and his actions required to moral sanction. The only problems debated are the most practical kind. Though the



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kings were allowed a free restraint, the peoples were subject to set of rules. This double standard has been cited as an excuse for undesirability of the Arthashastra, though the real cause of its ultimate neglect was the creation of a totally different society to which these methods were no longer applied.

Arthashastra remains exclusive in all of Indian literature because of its total absence of specious reasoning, or its unabashed support of scholars continued to study it for its clear cut opinions and formal prose till the twelfth century. Espionage and the liberal use of challenging agents is recommended on a large scale. Murder and false accusations were to be used by a king's secret agents without any thoughts to morals or ethics. There are chapters for kings to help them keep in check the premature desires of their sons and similarly chapters intended to help princes to prevent their fathers' authoritarian authority. However, Kautilya regretfully admits that it is just as difficult to detect on official's fraudulence.

Economic ideas of Kautilya in Arthshastra: Kautilya's economic treatise Arthshastra is an idea work, a perfect balance between State management and people's welfare which was created 2,500 years before. He was a great statesman as well as great intellectual. He described Economics as the most important aspect as it provides the basis for human existence and survival. He performed a dominant role in the formation of Maurya Dynasity. With his guidance, empire conquered growth with stability with the help of strong administration and efficient fiscal management. He believed in public welfare because when his work gave a strong focus on the wealth, effectiveness and wellbeing of the king, his actual objective was not to benefit the king but to benefit the people.

#### **Welfare State:**

Arthashastra sets the conceptual groundwork for making India the first welfare state. He backed welfare in all spheres. He did not talk only about human welfare but paid attention to animal welfare also. He states that "In the happiness of his subjects lies the king's happiness, in their welfare lays his welfare. He shall not consider as good as only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects"

He supported the protection of livelihood, of weaker section, consumer protection and even the welfare of prisoners also. The King's dharma is to be just, fair and liberal in protecting his people. His boldness to his people should be like attitude of a father towards his children. Kautilya demarcated the model ruler as one "who is ever active in promoting the welfare of the people and who endears himself by enriching the public and doing well to them."

Kautilya is not principally concerned with broad political speculation on the origin and nature of the state (India provides no philosophical text that can be compared with the major theoretical works of Europe), and his originality is not to be found in the monarchy of abstraction. The treatise is a collection and summary of earlier Arthashastra writings. Of the three ends of human life, virtue, wealth, and enjoyment, Kautilya allocates first importance to wealth, but he is always aware of the instrumental value of religion and principled norms in preserving the structure of society.

He permitted the king to determine for himself what shall have the sanction of law, although the Vedas are accepted as sources of dharma, and statute law must be well-matched with the sacred texts. Despite the importance he ascribed to the role of the king, Kautilya is practical in his approach and would give importance to that component of dominance which happens to be of most consequence at any particular time.

In Indian theory, independence was usually thought to cover seven elements:

- The king
- The ministers
- The populace
- The fort
- The treasury
- The army
- The ally

The theory, in which diplomacy is made an integral part of politics, is intended to show the necessary conditions for the effective functioning of the state.

### **Good Governance:**

Governance generally incorporates all aspects of the way a country is governed, including its economic policies and regulatory framework. Arthashastra stated that good governance comes with peace and order which can be accomplished through the partnership of different factors in a community. The first of these factors is the leader. The leader is the one held responsible for everything that is happening in a community. In Indian society, the leader or the king plays a vital role as he is the one leading the nation and thus, must display a lot of virtues.

Kautilya had enormous knowledge about different aspects of governance such as taxation, diplomacy, trade, business, administration etc. It is supposed that he also had a good knowledge of medicine and astrology as well. It is a discourse on political economy alike to Machiavelli's, *The Prince* and hence he has been compared to Machiavelli by some and Aristotle and Plato by others. Kautilya explained the way a state's economy is organized, how ministers should be selected, war conducted, and how taxation should be organized and distributed. He put more emphasis on the importance of a network of detectives and informers which function as an investigation corps for the king, focusing on external threats and internal dissidence.

The Arthashastra provides various qualities that defines a good leader and most of stresses on honesty and responsibility. Kautilya gave much emphasis on this issue as corruption ravaged the Indian society during his time. Even through the passage of time, dishonesty still remains up to the present society.

He followed a general approach to governance and enlightened several areas critical to the operation of a country in depth. The main sections deal with National security and Foreign Policy, Administration of Justice, Strategies related to economic development, Taxation, Labour Management, and Financial Management. According to him, attainment of good governance requires that the objectives of the state are fulfilled and realized.

This is possible through accurately organized and guided administration. He proposed that good governance should avoid extreme decisions and actions. Decisions should be taken according to the situation. When assessing Kautilya's four-pronged approach to public finance and state planning, which was actually economics, monetarism and much more, based on "dharma, artha, kama and moksha," many thinkers agreed that understanding human welfare was the basis of Arthshastra.

### **Foreign Trade:**

Foreign trade is vital element of any economic system. Kautilya accepted that foreign trade in goods and services is a major source for snowballing the state wealth. He ascribed that

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foreign trade should be stimulated by providing some incentives such as exemption from taxes so that foreign traders to make a profit. He gave huge importance to imports. He further spoke that foreign trade is supportive to increase the supply of those goods which may not be available domestically.

Through imports, a state can obtain goods more cheaply from foreign sources. In this way, he framed a comparative advantage view of foreign trade. He said that it is beneficial for the different kingdoms when the product being imported are cheaper than those can be obtained domestically. He accepted that trade based on the principal of comparative advantage would be beneficial for both exporting and importing nations. Trade is an important source of revenue for the Treasury.

The Arthashastra favors foreign trade and urges the king to take part in it through his overseer of trade. He should encourage the import of goods produced in foreign countries by permitting concessions. And those to bring such products in ships. He should grant exemption from taxes that would enable them to make a profit. And no lawsuit in money matters should be allowed against foreign trades except such as members of local guilds and their associates (Tom Trautmann, 2016). Thus the import of goods is treated as desirable practice. But at the same time exporting should be permitted for those goods that are abundant in quantity (Tom Trautmann, 2016).

Kautilya supports the use of tariffs, both export and import duties. Kautilya backed attracting foreigners who possess good technical knowledge. He Supports the use of tariffs, both import and export duties. He suggested heavy taxation on those foreign goods which are items of luxuries and on the other hand on the articles of common consumption light duties were imposed. Any item which is highly beneficial for the country should be free from any import duties. He was the first person to discuss the passport is necessary to cross the boundaries.

### **Taxation:**

Jha and Jha(1997) indicated that “Chankya paid supreme importance to the maintenance of a rich treasury, which positively affected entire activities of the administration.” He focused on good fiscal management and the ways to development of all the sectors of the economy. According to him, public revenue does not exist for the desire of the king but as a fund to be utilised to augment the wealth of nations.

He confessed the taxation is the main source of revenue. The power of taxing of the state is boundless but taxation should not be excessive. He supported that tax base should be increased not the tax rate. He commented the excessive burden of tax on people. Kautilya stated that King must collect taxes like honey bee, enough to sustain but not too much to destroy.”

Kautilya indirectly suggests a linear income tax. He highlights fairness, stability of tax structure, fiscal federalism, avoidance of heavy taxation, ensuring of tax compliance and subsidies to encourage capital formation. He advocated limiting the taxation power of the State, having low rates of taxation, maintaining a gradual increase in taxation and most importantly devising a tax structure that ensured compliance many postulates of Kautilya’s philosophy of political economy are applicable to modern times. Preferably, the government should collect taxes and do welfare of people.

Kautilya’s system of taxation involved the elements of sacrifice by the taxpayer, direct benefit to the taxpayers, redistribution of income, and tax incentives for desired investments. He suggested tax holiday as an incentive which means if any one brings new land under cultivation, he should be relieved from agricultural tax for at least two

years. He advocates a mixed economy and argued for a very active role of government. His conversation on taxation gave an idea of three principles that include, taxation power is limited, taxation should not be heavy and excessive and tax increase should be reasonable.

He recommended a system of tax collection and public expenditure of revenue in such a way as to build up the permanent revenue yielding capacity of the economy. He stated that tax base should be increased not the tax rate. The functional relationship which conversed kautilya in Arthashastra between the rate of income tax and the magnitude of tax revenue is now said in terms of Laffer curve.

He encouraged indirect taxes such as excise and custom duties and direct taxes as income tax on individuals, wealth tax, and profession tax. He also promoted land revenue, water tax and toll, fine and penalties. According to him, tax receipts can be divided into three parts; income earned through taxes on goods produced within a country, Income earned through taxes on goods produced in the capital and income earned through taxes on imports and exports. He supported that wealthy people should pay higher tax according to their paying capacity. In this way, he considers the ability to pay approach. Tax should be levied one in a year.

### **Growth Oriented Public Expenditure:**

Kautilya supported that most of the revenue generated from taxation should be spent on creative activities and public welfare. He argued different items where state should incur expenditure such as on national defence, public administration and salaries of the ministers, government departments, maintenance of national store house and granaries, maintenance of armies and on the acquisition of valuable gems, stones and ornaments and whatever was left should be deposited to the treasury.

In Arthashastra, it is elucidated that law was not viewed just as code of prohibition, nor was it limited to corrective justice of law courts. Its range was wider than ethics itself and institutions were creation of law while traditions and customs rested on its sanctions. All philosophies of society were formed by it and law was blended with religion, with morality and with public opinion and by its subtle operations subjected the society to its will. The role of law in the society was to bring a just order in society and the remarkable task was to be carried by the King along with his assistants.

Kautilya indicated in his famous verse:

“In the happiness of his subjects lies the King’s happiness;

In their welfare his welfare.

He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him but,

Treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects”.

The Arthashastra treatise elaborated that writer is slightly concerned with ethical considerations. Political expedience had been a characteristic of the Arthashastra tradition, and in such works as the Santi Parvan right is likened with might in a world in which the stronger live upon the weaker. Kautilya generally recommends unprincipled tactics only against those who would undermine the social order, and he is aware of that power, if not restrained in its use, can be unhelpful of itself. The writer of the Arthashastra was sensitive to the economic bases of power and opposed any distributing tendency that would wane the control of the state over the economic life of society.

Yet the state should not seek to eradicate the independent group life of the community. The caste structure was recognized as long as the general well-being was not prejudiced by narrow class rights. The Arthashastra signifies an important step in the direction of



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authority based on the interests of all. The king was recommended to see no interest other than the interest of his subjects. However, Kautilya clarified that affluence rests on the good will of the people and that the power of the state depends on wealth. This idea of authority must necessarily include many functions formerly reserved to institutions that were not considered political.

Governance generally incorporates all aspects of the way a country is governed, including its economic policies and regulatory framework. Arthashastra stated that good governance comes with peace and order which can be accomplished through the partnership of different factors in a community. The first of these factors is the leader. The leader is the one held responsible for everything that is happening in a community. In Indian society, the leader or the king plays a vital role as he is the one leading the nation and thus, must display a lot of virtues.

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This is possible through accurately organized and guided administration. He proposed that good governance should avoid extreme decisions and actions. Decisions should be taken according to the situation. When assessing Kautilya's four-pronged approach to public finance and state planning, which was actually economics, monetarism and much more, based on "dharma, artha, kama and moksha," many thinkers agreed that understanding human welfare was the basis of Arthshastra.

It is said to be the ancient and most extensive treatise on governance and administration of state in the world, which describe theories of state craft and monetarism and also a code of civil and criminal law still applicable currently.

The Arthashastra also dealt with the magistrates of their jobs. In the 4th chapter, it elaborates that, "The magistrate should be impartial, and decide on a case, remaining neutral between the King and the subjects." This indicates that they should be impartial in every trial or case they are handling no matter who the people are involved. This echoes true justice: punishing the guilty and releasing the innocent, an ideal justice system where everyone is judged similarly.

Key element in effective governance is the existence and accomplishments of projects that will enhance the nation. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya offered concrete proposals that

must be implemented appropriately. The most important of these is the prioritization of education. This is because in any society, having a good number of human capital is necessary good financial development. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya cited the requirement of extensive training of the people in various fields which resulted to a good outcome in those times. Currently, there is an immense importance of education in all sectors and growth of nation.

Although the Arthashastra's main goal and responsibility is the welfare of the people, Kautilya still includes rules in his treatise the maintenance of the environment and other living things. This is due to the fact that the Indian society values all living things because of their belief.

The Arthashastra linked political governance with economic governance. The end is economic governance while political governance is the means. But as economic objectives are not understood in the absence of political ones, then political governance becomes an end and economic governance the means. "The end justifies the means", this is supposed to be the basis of Kautilyan beliefs. Political power and material wealth are the means and ends of governance. And good governance - political or economic - depends upon justifying the ends and means as the socio, economic and political circumstances.

Arthashastra explicated that there is a sturdy connection between good governance and the economy of a nation. Kautilya's Arthashastra elaborated that it is contemporary Relevance, "the end is economic governance while political governance is the means" (Chapter 2). It means that appropriate management and good governance has an effect on the economic aspect of a nation. The Arthashastra offered the basic guidelines for the proper management of the economy of the country. Ruler must know how to manage resources, such as monetary funds. It can contribute to the development of the economy.

Major factor emphasized by the Arthashastra is agriculture. "The importance of irrigation and providing amenities could be taken up on a priority basis. Systematic cropping patterns and irrigation systems followed by Kautilya is what today's experts need to recognize". Kautilya also identifies organic farming because of its non-usage of chemicals. Beside from this, it is also required to learn different agricultural processes because it will aid in the production and storage of sources that will be used by the society.

Kautilya asserted that to guarantee good governance, there must be a suitably guided public administration, where the ruler should surrender his likes and dislikes in the interest of his subjects, and the personnel running the Government should be responsive. Additionally, Kautilya highlighted that for citizen friendly good governance, there should be consistency in the administrative practices as well as competent ministers and officials owning qualities of leadership, accountability, intellect, energy, good moral conduct, and physical fitness, capable of taking quick decision.

Kaufmann and Kraay stated that "the concept of Governance is not new. Kautilya presented key pillars of the art of governance emphasizing justice, ethics and anti-autocratic tendencies. He further detailed the duty of the king to protect the wealth of the state and its subjects, to enhance, maintain, and it does also safeguard such wealth as well as the interests of the subjects." A ruler must administer justice on the basis of four principles: righteousness, evidence, history of the case, and the prevalent law, shall conquer the earth. Kautilya articulated in the Arthashastra that a nation would benefit from trade if certain "safeguards and policy measures" are present. The trade policies of the country are implemented and are not offensive for the other parties would ensure the benefits of the nation when it comes to trading. This promotes trust and well-being for both parties.



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Kautilya on Law and Justice: Kautilya upheld that it is indispensable duty of government to maintain order. He describes 'order' broadly to include both social as well as order in the sense of thwarting and punishing criminal activity. Arthashastra incorporate both the civil law and criminal law. Kautilya attributed a lot of importance to 'dharma'. According to him, 'the ultimate source of all law is dharma'. He enticed in the name of 'dharma' to the sense of honour and duty and to human dignity, to moral responsibility and to enlightened loyalty. It is quite understandable that the judge in the arthashastra was called 'dharmashta' or upholder of dharma. He said that so long every 'Arya' follows his 'svadharma' having due regard to his 'varna' and 'ashrama' and the king follows his 'rajadharma', to sustain social order.

Kautilya mainly focused on duties of King to maintain law and order in the society. He writes in Arthashastra, "Because the King is the guardian of right conduct of this world with four 'varnas' and four 'ashramas' he can enact and promulgate laws when all traditional codes of conduct perish." The King was looked upon an embodiment of virtue, a protector of dharma.

He too was overseen by his dharma as any other citizen was. Thus, if any actions of the King went against the predominant notion of dharma, associations and/or the individual citizens were free to question him. He recalls every time that 'dharma' alone is guiding star for every king, or rather every individual and that following 'dharma' one shall have a life of dignity while social order prevailing in society.

He comments, "A King who administers justice in accordance with 'dharma', evidence, customs, and written law will be able to conquer whole world". Kautilya acknowledged the importance of rational law or King's law and its importance to 'dharma', 'vyayhara' and 'charitra'. He upheld that King's law was to be in harmony with the injunctions of the three Vedas wherein the four 'varnas' and 'ashramas' are defined. King was not the only interpreter of dharma. In fact, there was no specific institution devolved with the authority of interpreting dharma. Every individual was believed competent to interpret it. This was an important factor in guaranteeing the non-religious character of the Vedic state.

Kautilya did not interpret law to be a manifestation of the free will of the people. Thus sovereignty, the authority to make laws, did not vest with inhabitants. Laws were derived from four sources, dharma (sacred law), vyavhara (evidence), charita (history and custom), and rajasasana (edicts of the King). Kautilya recommended that any matter of dispute shall be judged according to four bases of justice.

These in order of increasing importance are:

- 'Dharma', which is based on truth
- 'Evidence', which is based on witnesses
- 'Custom', i.e. tradition accepted by the people
- 'Royal Edicts', i.e. law as promulgated.

If there is conflict among the various laws, dharma was supreme. The ordering of the other laws was case specific. Rajasasana ordered the relationship between the three major social groupings, the citizen, the association, and the state. The constitutional rules at the state level were specified in the rajasasana but the constitutional rules at the level of the association were to be decided by the members of the association.

The mutual choice and the operational level rules of the association were also decided by the members of the association though the state did promulgate laws to safeguard the



individual member from the oppression of the majority in the association. Arthashastra sketches a system of civil, criminal, and mercantile law (now it is called business laws).

The Nūtisaura of Kamandaka, usually retained in the Gupta period (fourth or fifth century A.D.), is basically an synopsis of the Arthashastra, although the later writer disregards a number of subjects that Kautilya clearly believed of great importance. Two-thirds of the Kamandakya Nūtisara relates to foreign policy and the conduct of conflicts. All the literature that has been considered far was shaped in northern India, and, except for Buddhist writings, in Sanskrit. Several Jaina texts can be categorized among the Arthashastra literatures.

#### **A Western Perspective on Kautilya's Arthashastra:**

However, the influence of Kautilya to economy has been ignored by western researchers despite the fact that his coverage of this subject was perhaps the most sophisticated and broadly based on internationally until Adam Smith published his Wealth of Nations in 1776.

The influential treatise, Arthashastra discovers issues of social welfare, the collective ethics that hold a society together, counseling the king that in times and in areas distressed by famine, epidemic and such acts of nature, or by war, he should initiate public projects such as building irrigation projects, building forts around major strategic holdings and towns, and exempt taxes on those affected. The text was powerful on other Hindu texts that followed, such as the sections on king, governance and legal procedures included in Manusmriti.

The Arthashastra was written at the end of the fourth century BC, it seems to have been revived only in 1905, after centuries of oblivion. The dissertation in its present shape is most likely not the text written by Kautilya, though it is perhaps based on a text that was authored by Kautilya; and is no case can the text in its completely be credited to Kautilya on account of numerous stylistic linguistic distinctions.

#### **Relevance of Arthashastra in modern time:**

Kautilya is one of the most renowned Indian political philosophers. Though, he lived a long time ago, certain philosophies from his theory are still applicable in modern political framework. The book, written in Sanskrit elucidates theories and principles of governing a state. Kautilya established an extremely vital imperative: governance, polity, politics, and progress have to be linked to the welfare of the people.

When assessing the some economic ideas of kautilya, it can be understood that even the terminology employed in Arthashastra may have changed but the nature and role of state in the economic system seem persistent in all settings. Covering various topics on administration, politics and economy, it is a book of law and a treatise on running a country, which is pertinent even today. His philosophies remain prevalent today in India.

He offered cherished basis for economic science. It comprises of very useful economic ideas on foreign trade, taxation, public expenditure, agriculture and industry. Good governance and stability are inseparably linked. If rulers are responsive, accountable, removable, recallable, there is stability. If not, there is uncertainty. This is even more applicable in the present democratic system. He recommended that heavy taxation should be avoided. If tax rates are high, public will not be willing to pay the tax and discover the ways of tax evasion. Low rate of taxation will produce more revenue to the state.

He was well mindful that terms of trade were not just depending on economics but also on various factors. There is no autonomous mechanism that will ensure that a nation



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would benefit from trade in the absence of certain precautions and policy measures. Social welfare is the main focal point of Kautilya's economic notions. The State was required to help the poor and helpless and to be proactive in contributing to the welfare of its citizens. Kautilya gave more emphasis to human capital formation that is relevant in current times because development is not possible without human capital growth. Besides these ideas, there are a number of things in Arthashastra which is very significant such as conservation of natural resources. Arthashastra provides much basic knowledge about economics, and several of his ideas are still important in today's economic system.

To summarize, Arthashastra is an exceptional text in all of Indian literature because of its total absence of erroneous reasoning, or its blatant support of realpolitik, and scholars continued to study it for its clear cut arguments and formal style till the twelfth century. The Arthashastra provides broad coverage on the overall economy, which includes: infrastructure (roadwork, irrigation, forestry, and fortification), weights and measurements, labour and employment, commerce and trade, commodities and agriculture, land use and property laws, money and coinage, interest rates and loan markets, tariffs and taxes, and government expenditures and the treasury.

It is noteworthy that a book such as 'Arthashastra' should have been written more than 2000 years ago in northern India. It is a book of substantial size. It includes economics, political science, public administration, law and statecraft. It is projected to provide practical advice for the management of the state and thereby enhance the wealth of the nation.

Especially, Arthashastra is a discourse on political economy interpreted in its broadest sense. It was written somewhere between 321 and 286 BC. A Modern Aristotle, Kautilya, a Brahmin, played a governing role in the formation and functioning of Maurya Empire. Afterward under his leadership, growth with stability was conquered in the empire with the help of strong administration and efficient monetary management. His accomplishment in the domain of scholarship is certainly creditable.

The 'Arthashastra' consists of detailed analysis of different aspects of ancient Indian economy." For understanding the Indian political thinking there are two major sources (a) Human being and the other is (b) His thoughts one of them of Mahatma Buddha and the later is Kautilya. But both have the opposite thinking as Buddha is considered Idealism and Kautilya Pragmatic. Because of this merit he (Kautilya) has a specific place in India thinkers. So, Sale tore says that "of all the school of ancient Indian political thought, the most noteworthy is that of Kautilya. remorsefully acknowledges that it is not easy to identify an official's deceit. Kautilya has delivered a comprehensive and explanatory description of the duties, responsibilities and role of the king, prince(s), ministers, and other state officials. As for the state's political administration, Kautilya provided a complete commentary as to how this should be effectively undertaken.

He gave instructions about the defence of the state's limits, protection of the forts, and the manner in which the attack by the rival must be controlled. The Arthashastra categorizes legal matters into civil and criminal and it stipulates extravagant strategies for administering justice in terms of evidence, procedures and witnesses. It can be said that Kautilya's Arthashastra offers valuable foundation for economy. It consists of valuable insights about finances. It can be used to glean of significance to modern time and can be useful to exemplify several contemporary economic thoughts. He offered a set of different economic policy measures to encourage economic development.

#### 4.4 TYPE OF GOVERNMENT

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Governance generally incorporates all aspects of the way a country is governed, including its economic policies and regulatory framework. Arthashastra stated that good governance comes with peace and order which can be accomplished through the partnership of different factors in a community. The first of these factors is the leader. The leader is the one held responsible for everything that is happening in a community. In Indian society, the leader or the king plays a vital role as he is the one leading the nation and thus, must display a lot of virtues.

Kautilya had enormous knowledge about different aspects of governance such as taxation, diplomacy, trade, business, administration etc. It is supposed that he also had a good knowledge of medicine and astrology as well. It is a discourse on political economy alike to Machiavelli's, *The Prince* and hence he has been compared to Machiavelli by some and Aristotle and Plato by others. Kautilya explained the way a state's economy is organized, how ministers should be selected, war conducted, and how taxation should be organized and distributed. He put more emphasis on the importance of a network of detectives and informers which function as an investigation corps for the king, focusing on external threats and internal dissidence.

The Arthashastra provides various qualities that defines a good leader and most of stresses on honesty and responsibility. Kautilya gave much emphasis on this issue as corruption ravaged the Indian society during his time. Even through the passage of time, dishonesty still remains up to the present society.

He followed a general approach to governance and enlightened several areas critical to the operation of a country in depth. The main sections deal with National security and Foreign Policy, Administration of Justice, Strategies related to economic development, Taxation, Labour Management, and Financial Management. According to him, attainment of good governance requires that the objectives of the state are fulfilled and realized.

This is possible through accurately organized and guided administration. He proposed that good governance should avoid extreme decisions and actions. Decisions should be taken according to the situation. When assessing Kautilya's four-pronged approach to public finance and state planning, which was actually economics, monetarism and much more, based on "dharma, artha, kama and moksha," many thinkers agreed that understanding human welfare was the basis of Arthshastra.

It is said to be the ancient and most extensive treatise on governance and administration of state in the world, which describe theories of state craft and monetarism and also a code of civil and criminal law still applicable currently.

The Arthashastra also dealt with the magistrates of their jobs. In the 4th chapter, it elaborates that, "The magistrate should be impartial, and decide on a case, remaining neutral between the King and the subjects." This indicates that they should be impartial in every trial or case they are handling no matter who the people are involved. This echoes true justice: punishing the guilty and releasing the innocent, an ideal justice system where everyone is judged similarly.

Key element in effective governance is the existence and accomplishments of projects that will enhance the nation. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya offered concrete proposals that must be implemented appropriately. The most important of these is the prioritization of education. This is because in any society, having a good number of human capital is necessary good financial development. In the Arthashastra, Kautilya cited the requirement of extensive training of the people in various fields which resulted to a good outcome in

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those times. Currently, there is an immense importance of education in all sectors and growth of nation.

Although the Arthashastra's main goal and responsibility is the welfare of the people, Kautilya still includes rules in his treatise the maintenance of the environment and other living things. This is due to the fact that the Indian society values all living things because of their belief.

The Arthashastra linked political governance with economic governance. The end is economic governance while political governance is the means. But as economic objectives are not understood in the absence of political ones, then political governance becomes an end and economic governance the means. 'The end justifies the means', this is supposed to be the basis of Kautilyan beliefs. Political power and material wealth are the means and ends of governance. And good governance - political or economic - depends upon justifying the ends and means as the socio, economic and political circumstances.

Arthashastra explicated that there is a sturdy connection between good governance and the economy of a nation. Kautilya's Arthashastra elaborated that it is contemporary Relevance, "the end is economic governance while political governance is the means" (Chapter 2). It means that appropriate management and good governance has an effect on the economic aspect of a nation. The Arthashastra offered the basic guidelines for the proper management of the economy of the country. Ruler must know how to manage resources, such as monetary funds. It can contribute to the development of the economy.

Major factor emphasized by the Arthashastra is agriculture. "The importance of irrigation and providing amenities could be taken up on a priority basis. Systematic cropping patterns and irrigation systems followed by Kautilya is what today's experts need to recognize". Kautilya also identifies organic farming because of its non-usage of chemicals. Beside from this, it is also required to learn different agricultural processes because it will aid in the production and storage of sources that will be used by the society.

Kautilya asserted that to guarantee good governance, there must be a suitably guided public administration, where the ruler should surrender his likes and dislikes in the interest of his subjects, and the personnel running the Government should be responsive. Additionally, Kautilya highlighted that for citizen friendly good governance, there should be consistency in the administrative practices as well as competent ministers and officials owning qualities of leadership, accountability, intellect, energy, good moral conduct, and physical fitness, capable of taking quick decision.

Kaufmann and Kraay stated that "the concept of Governance is not new. Kautilya presented key pillars of the art of governance emphasizing justice, ethics and anti-autocratic tendencies. He further detailed the duty of the king to protect the wealth of the state and its subjects, to enhance, maintain, and it does also safeguard such wealth as well as the interests of the subjects." A ruler must administer justice on the basis of four principles: righteousness, evidence, history of the case, and the prevalent law, shall conquer the earth. Kautilya articulated in the Arthashastra that a nation would benefit from trade if certain "safeguards and policy measures" are present. The trade policies of the country are implemented and are not offensive for the other parties would ensure the benefits of the nation when it comes to trading. This promotes trust and well-being for both parties.

Kautilya on Law and Justice: Kautilya upheld that it is indispensable duty of government to maintain order. He describes 'order' broadly to include both social as well as order in the sense of thwarting and punishing criminal activity. Arthashastra incorporate both the civil law and criminal law. Kautilya attributed a lot of importance to 'dharma'.

According to him, 'the ultimate source of all law is dharma'. He enticed in the name of 'dharma' to the sense of honour and duty and to human dignity, to moral responsibility and to enlightened loyalty. It is quite understandable that the judge in the arthashastra was called 'dharmashta' or upholder of dharma. He said that so long every 'Arya' follows his 'svadharmā' having due regard to his 'varna' and 'ashrama' and the king follows his 'rajdharmā', to sustain social order.

Kautilya mainly focused on duties of King to maintain law and order in the society. He writes in Arthashastra, "Because the King is the guardian of right conduct of this world with four 'varnas' and four 'ashramas' he can enact and promulgate laws when all traditional codes of conduct perish." The King was looked upon an embodiment of virtue, a protector of dharma.

He too was overseen by his dharma as any other citizen was. Thus, if any actions of the King went against the predominant notion of dharma, associations and/or the individual citizens were free to question him. He recalls every time that 'dharma' alone is guiding star for every king, or rather every individual and that following 'dharma' one shall have a life of dignity while social order prevailing in society.

He comments, "A King who administers justice in accordance with 'dharma', evidence, customs, and written law will be able to conquer whole world". Kautilya acknowledged the importance of rational law or King's law and its importance to 'dharma', 'vyayhara' and 'charitra'. He upheld that King's law was to be in harmony with the injunctions of the three Vedas wherein the four 'varnas' and 'ashramas' are defined. King was not the only interpreter of dharma. In fact, there was no specific institution devolved with the authority of interpreting dharma. Every individual was believed competent to interpret it. This was an important factor in guaranteeing the non-religious character of the Vedic state.

Kautilya did not interpret law to be a manifestation of the free will of the people. Thus sovereignty, the authority to make laws, did not vest with inhabitants. Laws were derived from four sources, dharma (sacred law), vyavhara (evidence), charita (history and custom), and rajasasana (edicts of the King). Kautilya recommended that any matter of dispute shall be judged according to four bases of justice.

These in order of increasing importance are:

- 'Dharma', which is based on truth
- 'Evidence', which is based on witnesses
- 'Custom', i.e. tradition accepted by the people
- 'Royal Edicts', i.e. law as promulgated

If there is conflict among the various laws, dharma was supreme. The ordering of the other laws was case specific. Rajasasana ordered the relationship between the three major social groupings, the citizen, the association, and the state. The constitutional rules at the state level were specified in the rajasasana but the constitutional rules at the level of the association were to be decided by the members of the association.

The mutual choice and the operational level rules of the association were also decided by the members of the association though the state did promulgate laws to safeguard the individual member from the oppression of the majority in the association. Arthashastra sketches a system of civil, criminal, and mercantile law (now it is called business laws).





#### 4.5 ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Kautilya's philosophy says state as central theme. Monarchy system was adopted in that time. Kautilya had discussed about state's origin, nature and working. In regarding to origin of state he accepted the theory of social-cohesion. There was injustice everywhere in the society. So, Manu had been selected as ruler. Indian religious epic had been considered as to be first Indian king. People decided to give the 1/6 of their harvest, 1/10 of their trades and some taxes from gold. Kautilya had not thought about the monarchy. He could only use of this wealth for welfare and security of the people.

Thus, by Kautilya's view was used for social cohesion. In this context Dr. Shamasastri says, "The theory of social contract was not unknown in the days of Chanakya." Kautilya did not speculate on the origin of the state. Like Machiavelli, he was concerned with the State of his own times. He was not interested in the question as the how the State, which had come into the possession of Chandragupta Maurya, had been brought up into the existence, but with the more urgent problem of how to make it a mighty and vigorous state ready to face internal as well as external dangers.

At best, the Mauryan Prime Minister could trace the origin of Mauryan State to the misdeeds of the Nanda. Though he described in detailed the formation of villages and the different aspects of the village and town life yet there is no reference to the origin or evolution of the State in Kautilya.

For understanding the Indian political thinking there are two major sources (a) Human being and the other is (b) His thoughts One of them of Mahatma Buddha and the later is Kautilya. But both have the opposite thinking as Buddha is considered Idealism and Kautilya Pragmatic. Because of this merit he (Kautilya) has a specific place in India thinkers. So, Sale tore says that "of all the school of ancient Indian political thought, the most noteworthy is that of Kautilya.

#### 4.6 INTER-STATE RELATIONS

Kautilya had discussed about organism of state. He considered seven organs of the state:

1. Master or king
2. Amatya or ministers
3. Janpad or country
4. Durg or fort
5. Kosh or treasury
6. Punishments
7. Friend

This organism was known as Kautilya's principle for nature of the state. He made it by inspiring the Holy books like the Mahabharata. Here Dr. Shamasastri has said about Kautilya's view for nature of state that each sovereign state must contain seven members (angs), such as the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend.

#### Types of State

At the time of Kautilya there were some types of state, which are this following way;

**State:** Such state in which the rule was based on conflict. Kautilya says that this conflict is natural because of heredity. In this two persons might be two brothers or the father and the son. He suggested that the problem could be solved by the minister's suggestions.

**Vairajya** : Such type of state was not appropriate for people, because of in such conditions a king could exploit the people by ruling on them.

**Dualism (sangh rajya)** : There was miniature of republic states. These states had adopted dualism. These were independent and self-reliance but could not face the larger enemies. In such dualistic states king was not permanent and used to get together at critical occasions. In his time Mugdh was also a dualistic state. Therefore, he presented his views for making strong these states. Integration method was good for these states.

He says that the king should appoint detective for getting information, he (the king) should do everything with his best approach and ability. Kautilya supports to comprehensive function of state. He says that the function of it not only to secure but also to develop all-round development of its people. A state can fulfill all his need when it has economic backbone strength. Only on the basis of economic citizens can get their aims of life.

A state should be adopted such policies by which export may be more than import, and makes a happy human being with his glorious future. A man may be got religion, work. He (man) may be led a happy life. Taking nature and functions there were two kinds of principles. One was nonmaterialistic and later one was materialistic. Former principle is emphasized on salvation of being life and the later one is on luxury life. Kautilya selects the mixture way of dual above and gives importance to mean, religious and work.

N.C. Bandyopadhyaya, "The state according to Kautilya must be based on sound economic foundations, so as to enables men to realize the aims of life."

Objectives and Functions of Kautilya's State In Kautilya's economics state is the central point. The objective of a state not only to secure but also welfare works for people. For completing objectives he integrated many institutions. The objectives are to secure people, to preserve them from natural calamities, to kill enemies' detective who may be harmful for the state.

Kautilya thinks that for a king state is everything with it a king is nothing. Bandyopadhyaya, "The state, thus according to Kautilya, must be base on sound economic foundations, so as to enables men to realize the aims of his life, to lesson as much as possible, the struggle of existence at home, to lessen the dependence of the community on the outside world, to be in a position to help others sections of humanity is distress, and thereby to ensure on existence conducive to the happiness of men in this life and paving the way to a brighter beyond."

According to Kautilya state is not only a materialistic but a spiritual also. The objective of a state is not only to manage religious, means and work for people but to create such situation also such like, without colour, creed, and caste. For comprehensive objective he emphasizes on state's scope.

Kautilya says that for getting work, means, religious a state should do work in following way:

- **Agriculture:** It is the back-bone of a state's economic. A state to have cultivated land which can fulfill the need of the food. Plantation should be started. Transport may also be managed for it.
- **Administrative Appointments:** For a good administration there should be essential appointments. It is the king's responsibility.
- **Military Function:** The state's safety is also a major concern. For it an integrated and powerful military is essential which may be able to face outsider's attack.





- **Judicial Function:** Such a judicial function which may be punished prisoners.
- **Economic Function:** State's strength is base on treasury and trading. It should be fulfilling its meaning.
- **Diplomatic Function:** Kautilya was not known for internal management. Ambassador should be appointed on the basis of neighbor's behaviour.
- **Industrial Function:** Capital and labour should be selected in industries for a state.
- **Luxury:** Luxury was also involved by Kautilya in his working function of the state. He says that for the security of state employees should be appointed, by which the other streams would be uninvolved such luxury life.
- **Business Function:** Trades should be under control. For it things should be sold in the market and measurement should also be corrected.
- **Spiritual Function:** Kautilya expects that the king to appoint Brahman and manage the state according to Dharmasastra and protect the Dharma/religious. He says that the duty of a state to develop spiritual field of a human being not a materialistic world.
- **Social Welfare:** Kautilya says that the objective of state not only prosperity but also social welfare, because a prosperous person can build a prosperous nation. Kautilya says, "A king checks the famine at all. Who serves the grain even in famine days, he is real a king." A state should provide work to widows, the handicapped and others.

Kautilya emphasized all the streams of state by which religious, means, and work/activities affect. For religion, a state's those works emphasizes, which may be helpful for people and securing for people. For getting economy he emphasizes on industrious, agriculture and trade-fair, and for working on luxury. Thus, in such a way, on the basis of various objectives and works, State called the state a secularism and welfare state. Robson, "The idea of welfare state must be as old as the history of mankind and it is certainly much older than the state"

### **The Functions of the Monarch State**

According to Kautilya the king is the first and foremost organ of the state. Without him the state is nothing. This type of state is harmful for its people. He says without a king there was nothing, there was corruption everywhere. Thus, the king emerges for protecting people. Thus, a king should be such who can get religion, economy and work. He may have specific abilities. Kautilya says, "The miseries of Demons (people) lies in the king. A king should not be selfish. He should think about his people."

Kautilya says extraordinary person to him, Kautilya emphasizes on specific merits of king and says, "Because the king is best in himself. He may have the virtue of Rishi/saint as well as human being."

He considers the nature of Saptang of the state and the king is central point on whom all organs revolve. He says, "These organs are essential. Effect and importance are depended on the task that how he is using these organs."

## **4.7 RULER**

### **Qualifications and Qualities of the king:**

- A king should be perfect by physically, mentally, and intellectual.



- He should be punctual.
- He should have the control own senses.
- He should complete the objectives of religious, economy and work.

#### **Privileges of the king:**

- He is supreme power.
- No tax can be imposed on him.
- He is the owner of the non-relating money.
- He is the owner of hidden money.
- He can't be called for witness in court.

He had been provided these privileges such that he can follow his duty very well. He can't use these rights for luxury. So, for checking luxury life, he had been imposed some social and religious traditions, which can't be opposed by the king.

#### **Routine of the king:**

Kautilya dividing his routine into eight parts

##### **a. Routine of the day:**

- To investigate secured organization for protecting the people.
- To do personal work.
- To solve the riots of people.
- To get information about treasury and give instructions.
- To discuss with ministers and detective.
- To recreate and study.
- To investigate of army with their weapons.
- To discuss with commander-in-chief.

##### **b. Routine of the night:**

- To get information and give instruction to detectives.
- To do personal work.
- Recreating work.
- To feel relax and sleep
- To prepare time-schedule for the next day.
- To discuss with intellectual people.
- To do religious work.

Thus, Kautilya discusses his routine on the principle of religious, economy and work.

#### **Security of the King**

Kautilya has emphasized of security of the king and explained in economy. A king should suggest some following ways by which he can get security:-

- The king accomplishes arms/weapons persons with him.
- Army should be appointed inner and outer of the palace.





- To investigate the food before serving to king.
- The king should remain keep away from multi- forms persons.
- Don't go at the crowded place.
- While supervising army he should use ridding.
- To be cautious while hunting time.

### Succession

Kautilya has expressed succession in these ways:

- The Elder son of king.
- The able prince while lack the virtue in the king.
- The merit of prince- to able son.
- The able son of king's daughter.
- The king's daughter.
- Group proved Empire dynasty

Thus, Kautilya had described succession. But he stressed on ability.

Although he prefers monarchy system but do not compromise with merits of a king. He says that an unable person while king's son should not be appointed as succession of the throne.

### Duties and Powers of the Monarch

A king having following works/functions:

- Kautilya's economy is based on (religious, economy and work) the principle of. He (the king) starts his routine with religious work. Kautilya suggests him to do religion work. A purohit/saint should be appointed for such works. He should honour him (saint) as pupilguru, son-father and servant-master.
- For completing his work he should do appointments. Minister, saints, commander, various head of departments should be appointed according to their abilities.
- For a good administration he should divide the state into country and the fort. He should select agriculture in country and trade-fair in fort for controlling of comprehensive rules and regulations.
- People who have built a state by social-cohesion, they built it for security and welfare. Welfare of citizens is the priority of the king. He should do his best affords for welfare. For it he should not only walk on the path of religions, but also encourages his people of this path. By it as well as economy and work can be provided.
- Kautilya gives importance to agriculture and its importance. He suggests to king that the country should be established at such a place where the land may be cultivated. The land of state should be planted.
- The king should do justice according to religious. For it he should select judges and establish courts.
- The king should continuously increase treasury and for it he should announce guidance. For religious and work economy is essential. Therefore, Kautilya has named his epic Arthasastra because he considered the strength of state is based on firm economy.

- The king should appoint skilled and courage soldiers inner and outside of the palace. He should get the information by detective and give essential instructions.
- A king should appoint ambassador for recognizing the behavior of other states. Kautilya suggests also about the diplomatic action in opposite circumstances towards friends and enemies states.
- The king should manage economic security of the citizens. Industries are the solution of it. These should be under state and private-sector. There would not be any exploitation in private sector. The king should give concession in economy security of widows, handicapped persons.
- A king should preserve his citizens from natural calamities. Kautilya says, "The king checks the famine at all, whenever the citizens would not eat, he should not eat the food himself."
- He emphasizes the king to adopt detective system and skill. Detectives should be appointed in other states and their administrative departments.
- Kautilya's Arthashastra is considered the base point of fulfilling the objectives of religious, economy and work. M. V. Krishna Rao, "The king was to regard himself as an agent of the people and had to abide by law as laid down in the Sastra or embodied in the customs of the country which were both a political constitution as well as an ethical law."

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### Position of the king or Absolute Monarchy

On the basis of the study of Arthashastra a contradiction emerges that in which aspect his Arthashastra lays and what proves. Had he supported to welfare-monarchy or absolutism? This question is emerged because as he described about king's privileges, it can become him absolute/despotic and he did not think about citizens' rights. There are some symptoms which show the king as absolutism:

### Elements of Absolutism

The king is a supreme power. The king has the right to endow, made, explain laws.

- Kautilya has not explained citizens' right.
- The security system of king is more emphasized than a common man.
- All appointments should be accorded king's opinion.
- In succession dynasty system is preferred.
- The king should be provided privileges but Sastra and customs are unclear itself.
- The whole administration and its member are responsible towards king.
- The king can do everything even in battles, it also shows his absolutism. Thus, his king (Kautilya) is absolute.

### Monarchy is not absolute but Welfare

Robson, "The idea of welfare state must be as old as mankind as it is certainly much older than the state." Because as Kautilya supported to absolute monarchy system but he did not ignore the welfare system of the citizens. One place, he says, "A king should think about his people, its people are sad, he would also be unhappy. He feels relax and happy when citizens lead a peaceful life." He (the king) leads the responsibility of handicapped and widows and their works. He also preserves the citizens from natural calamities.

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The king of Kautilya was not absolute monarchy. For checking absolute monarchy on him Kautilya had but some checks on him;

- **Religious Check:** For collecting money, luxury life and self-security he has been checked on basis of religious. M.V. Krishna Rao, "Kautilya's attitude to religion was secular and not apathetic. As Sen says Kautilya is not immoral but unmoral in his politics; he is not irreligious but unreligious in his politics and he is prepared to use religious sentiments and religious institution for political expending and for the noble ends of the state.
- **Check on Appointments:** The king is not independent to select his ministers. According to Arthashastra, only virtuous people are able to get the jobs.
- **The king is not supreme:** The king has to obey in religious work. He is compelled towards saints/purohit. He should honour him as pupil honors his Guru, a son to his father and a servant to his master. Saint is supreme than him.
- **Equal objectives of People, King and State:** He has not to fulfill the objectives for himself but also for the citizens. When there are equal rights between king and people there is no question of absolutism.
- **Succession is based on Merit:** Although Kautilya refers to heredity succession, but also ability. He says that a king should be physically, mentally, intellectual, punctual, courage etc. full of virtues. Such virtuous king would not be absolute.
- **Moral Checks:** The king should follow some moral values. There are six moral obstacles (i) work, (ii) annoy, (iii) greed, (iv) Ego, (v) ugly, (vi) happiness. It is only when the king can control on his senses.
- **Spiritual Checks:** Although Kautilya is considered rational thinker. He says that the result of work has also to be realized not only in supernatural but also in this world also. So, with it he suggests also to king by which in both worlds religious, economy and work can be got.
- **Right of the People:** He accepts that in the feeling of angry people may get murdered of the king. Thus, his Arthashastra neither king nor his ruler system accepts.
- **Training of the Successor:** Kautilya's king is not despotic, because he refers training of the successor by which he can get the knowledge of Dharmashastra, Political Science, Vedic etc.
- **Check of Ministers:** The king cannot be despotic, because he does the work with the advice of ministers. In Arthashastra, after advising of ministers he can take the decisions independently.
- **Rights of the King are not unlimited:** The king has the right of making and endowing a law but these should be according to Dharmashastra and customs. He has the right to punish but it should be according to religious rules. Thus, a king has limited powers. Thus, he is not absolute.

King's powers have been checked. He (Kautilya) does not encourage him towards tyrant attitude for citizens. His (king's) all works are for people welfare. For fulfilling his responsibilities he has comprehensive rights. Thus, his throne is the symbol of proud and importance. M. V. Krishna Rao on the basis of above checks says, "With these checks operating on the governmental system it was very difficult for any king to make himself absolute and wild despotic authority."

Saletore analyzing king's position says, "However autocratic the king was in some matters, he could not, by the established precepts in the Dharmasastra and niti-sastra afford to play the part of the Greek tyrant without losing his kingdom and his life was exalted, he was neither apart from nor alien to the people who were never mere objects of his will."

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#### 4.8 COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Kautilya's Arthashastra is an important epic by attitude of art. In it he accepts the principle of Saptang for administering a state in his throne there are seven organs. In this the king is first and council of ministers comes after one organs. In sixth agency of Arthashastra "Mungleyoni" has been explained about council of ministers. He should organize council of ministers for his help. Kautilya understands council as important for king, state, and administration and for people. Kautilya suggests king that he should not start a work whenever council is not agreed.

##### Composition of the Council of State/Amatayas:

The king should appoint the ministers looking time, situation, management and state and should be numerous. Thus, ministers may be 12-20. According to him, 3-4 ministers should be selected for discussing in critical situation. There should be more than 2 ministers in discussion.

Salary of the Ministers: Kautilya's Arthashastra is said that the king should provide salary to ministers according to their post and abilities, by which they lead their life. The king should give 4800/-annual. It is the peak-point of best ability. They should be got proper salary, because due to lack of money they do corrupt work. Qualification of the Amatayas/ministers: Before defining his own views he gives a place to thinks of saints and educationists.

Kautilya Bhardwaj has emphasized on king's old colleagues, but Vishalash ignored it at all. Parashar emphasizes loyalty for ministry. But in his own view, Kautilya says that a minister should be intelligent, skilled, courageous, loyal, pious, self-patience and fearless. Beni Prasad expressing Kautilya's ministers' abilities says, "An excellent intellectual grounding, a blameless private life, a sound judgment, a high sense of duty and a certain amount of popularity are deemed essential qualification."

Thus, Kautilya emphasizes on some following qualities of a minister:

- Autocratic
- Socialized
- Intelligent
- Skilled
- Language-literature
- Memory-power should be strong
- Skill-management
- Patience
- Patriotic
- Courtesy
- Courage
- Egoless



- Static
- Attractive
- Aesthetic
- Popular
- Disinteresting
- Pious
- Notgreedy
- Religious-follower

On the basis of above qualities and abilities of ministers there are three categories have been divided, who has all these qualities, may be first, who has  $\frac{3}{4}$  of these qualities may be second and who has  $\frac{1}{2}$  from above may be in third category respectively.

#### **Functions of the Council of Ministers:**

Kautilya emphasizes on various kinds of works and responsibility of ministers:

- **Advisory Function:** While organizing a meeting they should suggest their views with their best intelligence power.
- **Security of the King:** Ministers should manage the security of the king.
- **Administrative Function:** However king appoints administration but to endow the decision of ministers and king is administrative function of ministers.
- **Religious Function:** Purohit/Saints, ministers have the responsibility do not to misuse their life and nor miss-guided by the king.
- **Security of the State:** Ministers should be cautious and think about security of the state and after reaching the conclusion they endow it strictly.
- **Unity and Secrecy:** Ministers should not quarrel and interfere with each other. Maintain secrecy about the working of the council of minister. The king's routine, security, demerits etc. should be secreted.
- **Security of Successor:** It is also the responsibility of ministers not only to think about king and state but also about successors and other members and their security.

Thus, the second organ of Saptang Council of Minister/Amatayas is considered. The king and state and their planes and endowed it, is the responsibility of ministers. It does not mean that in Kautilya's Arthashastra the king as puppet. Kautilya suggests and cautious to king such that he should appoint detectives who inform him about ministers with their activities.

#### **4.9 MACHIAVELLI- HUMAN NATURE**

Niccolo Machiavelli was a political philosopher from Florence Italy. He lived during the Italian Renaissance from May 1469 to 1527. This period in time that Machiavelli lived was the "rebirth" of art in Italy and rediscovery of ancient philosophy, literature and science.

Machiavelli's philosophy about the nature of man is that man possesses both good and bad qualities, but will lean towards his own self-interests when all things are equal: thus man is a fickle creature. Machiavelli's view of human nature influences his view of government.



Machiavelli believed however that man was naturally an evil being, one that needed control (Prince). The idea of man being an evil being, by nature, is expressed in Machiavelli's book *The Prince*. He has written that a Prince should break his promises to his subjects because man is evil and will break their promises to their prince (Prince).

Machiavelli had discussed this in the beginning of 'The Prince' about the human nature. Machiavelli had assumed and had given the human nature a dark picture to an extreme that some think that he had considered humans to that of animals. According to Machiavelli human nature is completely selfish and full of ego and that they always think about their own self interest like the masses desire safety and security and the ruler wants power, and that they are very selfish to gain and conquer their motives. Machiavelli has described humans as bad, evil, selfish, egoistic and depraved.

Human wants has no particular limit, they are greedy, sensual creature, mean, bad and depraved and he even goes on to saying that a human being only cares for himself, their family and their property and to conquer this they are ready to do anything even to the extent of forgiving their enemy, he even says that in order to safeguard their priorities they can even forgive the murder of their father or any kin for that matter than the seizure of his property or any harm to himself.

Humans love themselves first and then think about other things and that they are not law abiding citizens. As long as the ruler is providing the m the safety and the security that they desire that is the safety and security of them, their family and that of their property they are sated and to also protect from any foreign invaders, and if the ruler is able to do this the masses are easy to rule and the state is well governed.

According to Machiavelli humans use the state and the government for their own selfish reason, profit and protection, they immediately start disliking or hating the thing that they can't achieve or is difficult to achieve or is out of their reach and will deliberately tend to avoid or delay it. Machiavelli also says that human by nature are wicked and aggressive, in the words of Sabine, "Human nature is moreover, profoundly aggressive and acquisitive, men aim to keep what they have and to acquire more. Neither in power nor in possessions are always in fact limited by natural scarcity. Accordingly men are always in a condition of strife and competition which threatens an open anarchy unless checked by the ruthless forces of the state."

Machiavelli believes that human beings are insatiable and mean by nature. Humans are insatiable but full of desires. His view regarding human nature is that of an high resemblance to that of Hobbes. Machiavelli's views regarding politics, religion and morality are essentially based on his view of human nature.

Machiavelli says that, "Men are ungrateful, fickle, deceitful, cowardly and avaricious." From this it sums up to the conclusion that a ruler or a monarch should aim rather to be feared than to be loved. Machiavelli says that a ruler should protect the people, their families and their properties and he can rule over them without any hassle. Machiavelli quotes, "Men love at their pleasure, but fear at the pleasure of the prince, who should therefore depend upon that which in his own, not upon that which is of others."

Yet he may be feared without being hated if he refrains from touching their property and their woman kind of his subjects, and if he avoids bloodshed excepting when there is good cause and manifest justification for it is in as much as men more easily forget the loss of their father than of their property." With it he tends to say that man so much is in love with his priorities that he can go to any extreme and even turn evil to protect it from danger; Machiavelli here also mentions that apart from property men is also insecure of

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his women and that if anyone is eyeing their women they tend to be aggressive and then it comes up to their ego, this idea or thought of Machiavelli can be seen even today.

Machiavelli's view and point of human nature was very materialistic, he had rejected and turned down the ideologies of the Greek philosophers Aristotle and Plato who said that the state aims to make the people virtuous and good, he also dismisses the idea that existed in the medieval ages that the end of the state is to smooth the way of a man to eternal salvation. Machiavelli as always was highly criticized for this but according to him, "The end of the state is material prosperity."

#### **CRITICISM OF MACHIAVELLI'S CONCEPT OF HUMAN NATURE**

Machiavelli's concept of human nature is highly criticized by many till today, by various people and on various grounds. Some of them being:

- Man by nature has some virtues and is not purely selfish.
- His concept of human nature does not take into consideration the universal society. His views and ideas regarding human nature are the pure result of the observations he made and the conditions that prevailed at that particular time in Italy. According to the quote given by Sabine, "Machiavelli is not so much concerned with badness or egoism as a general human motive and with its prevalence in Italy as a symptom of social decadence. To him, Italy stands as an example of corrupt society." So here the criticism is that Machiavelli has given the concept of human nature as at his time Italy's political position was unbalanced and he had observed and wrote according to that and that his concept might be limited and not universal.
- According to Machiavelli's concept of human nature man is an animal who is bad and depraved and that he cannot be reformed by any method. But he is here criticized with accordance to Plato and Aristotle who have said that throughout with the means of proper education man can be reformed.
- Machiavelli's saying that men is ready to sacrifice their kin or relations for the sake and security of his priorities, but Machiavelli here also says that the top three priorities of man are life, family and then property, so how can he give up one priority to meet the other. No doubt that people love their property but they love and have equally deep regard and affection for their family, kin's and other relations of blood.

According to all this and keeping in mind the critics it can be said that on the basis of the above give criticism and discussion Machiavelli cannot be said as completely right, to some he might be, he and his ideas might be excellent to some but others may oppose it and it might not be according to their liking and ideology. But Machiavelli does not create an illusion he speaks and thinks practical and rational and reflects reality and most of his views are prevalent and can be seen in the present or current day scenario, as in today's life we too observed and think that people have become selfish and that they think mostly about themselves, a lot of examples can be given from our own personal life and what we observe of that of others.

#### **4.10 CONCEPT OF STATE**

Machiavelli's theory of the state to make Florence as strong as possible by: uniting the people and their customs under the rule of a single Prince; to be a great leader; to make Florence as strong as possible against intrusion of foreigners as Europe was in a state of war and turmoil, with Italy a divided country which was constantly at war with Europe.





Machiavelli believed that the strength of the state would be in its self-sufficiency and the citizens' preference for good and patriotism and the state should be based on *Raison D'état* not Christian morality or private conscience.

Machiavelli was greatly influenced by the 1499 military scandal when the Florentines unsuccessfully tried to capture Pisa with mercenary troops, the leader of the mercenary army was a man called Vitelli who called off the attack the Florentines called Vitelli a traitor and he was executed and as a result Machiavelli believed that mercenary troops should not be trusted and that all states should be self-sufficient and protected by their own army. So therefore he believed that a prince's duty is to be a soldier and create an army.

At the age of 29 Machiavelli was granted a position as an apprentice in lower grades of the Chancery, at first he was to be concerned with internal affairs but later on he was given some responsibility with foreign affairs and defense. He was sent on many diplomatic missions but the first important one was to the French court in 1500. Machiavelli observed the full effect of having one Prince ruling a united country. Louis XII (who provided the troops for the assault on Pisa) was a ruthless strong leader and although he left France ridiculed and named a Mr. Nothing, Machiavelli learned that those qualities were needed by a Prince.

When he returned from France in 1502 Machiavelli met Cesare Borgia, a Spanish aristocrat, a much feared and despised tyrant from Romagna in the north region in Italy. Machiavelli witnessed the murder of two of Borgia's officers at a banquet ("Massacre of Senigallia"), which reinforced Borgia's authority and enabled him to firmly govern his state, which Machiavelli admired him because of this. He thought that Borgia's qualities would make him the perfect prince to unite Italy. He became acquainted with power politics through his important diplomatic missions during a time of great political activity. Italy could not be united unless its leader was ruthless.

Machiavelli was now greatly influenced by those rulers hell bent on corruption power and greed. Power was more important than any moral or philosophical course. He was still loyal to the state but he now realized that although the prince must build his state on the goodwill of the people and respect his subjects. He had to be ready to administer cruel punishment as in the long run "it is often kinder to be cruel than weak to maintain social order, strong action was needed to maintain social order and keep the state running smoothly."

Machiavelli's preference for popular or free government, however excluded all those who did not own a "stake in their own" country such as women and children, servants, foreigners and any other dependents. The minority left were expected to be to show keen interest in public affairs as well as be patriotic and independent.

This State would be made up of the native Florentines, independent businessmen their own land and wealth - in other words- the Bourgeoisie, the elite upper class. This elite upper class would govern and protect the native proletariat citizens as well as maintain social order.

Machiavelli believed that Florence's citizens needed: a strong Prince; a nation composed of relatively powerless people which was best served by a powerful and centralized government, which would make their decisions for them and aggressively defend their interests to the betterment of all fortune. A skilful statesman should have the ability to make use of it, but not to rely upon the fortuitous events, which might occur in his career.

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He saw virtue as ruthlessness and all that goes with it: Bravery; courage; strength; vigour and prowess, although these virtues don't guarantee success, because this means relying on fortune. Machiavelli believed the best methods of defense are those based on your own virtue and virtue is the key to achieving success amid the changes of fortunes.

Machiavelli's theories on the state are essentially idealistic and possibly unrealistic but the city of Florence's welfare were always his first priority, he was devoted to Florence with its fine architecture and talented, artistic people. Machiavelli loved his native city "more than his own soul". He was basically a generous and good man. He had a dream that he would see the redemption of Italy and a society of good and pure men.

#### **4.11 ETHICS AND POLITICS**

Till the 15th century i.e. in medieval period state was working under the dominance of church and religion. There were conflict between the state and the church for power. In that church was aggressive. Before Machiavelli Aristotle separated politics from philosophy and gave a separate status to political science as a subject. But Machiavelli completely divorced religion from politics and tried to subordinate religion to the state.

He repudiated the theory of Aquinas that man needs the guidance of the divine law. Machiavelli said that only end which man can place before himself is the pursuit of his wellbeing in his life i.e. material values. State came into being to satisfy material needs. He differentiated between public and private morality- Plato and Aristotle believed in moral nature and ethical ends of the state but Machiavelli completely disregarded this view of the state. According to him there is vital difference between the ruler and the citizens.

He insisted that morality is essential for people. Only moral citizens willingly obey laws of the state and sacrifice their lives for their nation. But morality is not necessary for the ruler. He is the creator of law and morality hence he is above the both. A ruler has primary duty of preserving the state. He may use instruments of lie, conspiracy, killings, etc. for the state. He said absolute morality is neither possible nor desirable in politics. E.g. A corrupt state cannot be reformed without heavy dose of violence. Must corrupt and degenerated people need a shock therapy to revive it. Machiavelli does not ignore religion and morality.

He wants to use the religion and church as an instrument for creating national customs and habits for creating national thought which will help the state in preserving peace and order and maintaining the stability of society. Prince must preserve the purity of all religious observances and treat them with proper reverence. Common religion creates a sense of unity among people. Decline of respect for religion among the people is a sign of ruin for the state.

Machiavelli proposed two different standards of morality and placed the state above morality. Thus Machiavelli divorced politics from theology and government from politics. He gave the state non-religious character. He did not view the state as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life. He believed that politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws.

#### **4.12 NATURE OF STATE**

Machiavelli was a practical politician who was greatly disturbed by the conditions of his native state. He never claimed to be political philosopher. His 'Prince' contains the tips given to the fictional prince.

The 'Prince' as mainly a handbook on the art of ruling and maintaining oneself in power in his advice; he is mainly concerned with the actual state of his time without bothering

about its origin, nature, functions etc. Allen says “The Prince was written of a Prince, for a Prince and for no one else”?

However in subsequent period, his ideas were concretized to develop a systematic whole. The following are the various ideas of Machiavelli on state that can be said to have formed into a systematic political theory.

- For Machiavelli, state has its origin in the calculating self interest on the part of individuals. For, human beings are selfish, egoistic and ambitious, but weak and fickle.
- The state for Machiavelli is an artificial creation.
- Machiavelli identifies three kinds of state, viz., monarchy, aristocracy and republic. He neglected aristocracy, hailed republic as best but favored monarchy in Italy which was plagued by many problems.
- State exists only on account of interplay of material interests. Likewise, he makes the Church subservient to the state.
- Machiavelli supports the constitution of state by citizens with spirit of probity, law abidingness, and trustworthiness in the performance of public duties.
- Machiavelli puts faith in the reality of power politics. For him, there remains an inherent tendency in states to expand and continue. To quote him, “All free governments have two principal ends—one of which is to preserve their liberties and the other to enlarge their dominions”.
- Machiavelli is in favour of maintaining a national army without which a state cannot survive for longer period, so he advocates military training for citizens between the age of 17 and 40.
- Though, Machiavelli considered force and fear as important ingredient in administration, he does not relegate the significance of law. He regards it as an important aspect in inculcating ‘virtue’ among citizens.

### 4.13 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Arthashastra entails the science (sastra) of wealth/earth/polity (artha). ‘Artha’ however is bit wider and an all-embracing term with different meanings. In ‘Arthashastra’ itself, it is being used in various contexts, indicated by L N Rangarajan in his translation of Kautilya -Arthashastra. It is used in the sense of material well-being, in livelihood, economically productive activity trade etc. This is alike with ‘wealth’ which is defined in ‘Wealth of Nations’. In simple way, ‘arthashastra’ can be explained as ‘science and art of politics and diplomacy’.

Kautilya is not principally concerned with broad political speculation on the origin and nature of the state (India provides no philosophical text that can be compared with the major theoretical works of Europe), and his originality is not to be found in the monarchy of abstraction. He permitted the king to determine for himself what shall have the sanction of law, although the Vedas are accepted as sources of dharma, and statute law must be well-matched with the sacred texts.

Governance generally incorporates all aspects of the way a country is governed, including its economic policies and regulatory framework. Arthashastra stated that good governance comes with peace and order which can be accomplished through the partnership of different factors in a community. The first of these factors is the leader. The leader is the one held responsible for everything that is happening in a community.



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Kautilya did not interpret law to be a manifestation of the free will of the people. Thus sovereignty, the authority to make laws, did not vest with inhabitants. Laws were derived from four sources, dharma (sacred law), vyavhara (evidence), charita (history and custom), and rajasasana (edicts of the King).

Kautilya's philosophy says state as central theme. Monarchy system was adopted in that time. Kautilya had discussed about state's origin, nature and working. In regarding to origin of state he accepted the theory of social-cohesion. There was injustice everywhere in the society. So, Manu had been selected as ruler.

On the basis of the study of Arthashastra a contradiction emerges that in which aspect his Arthashastra lays and what proves. Had he supported to welfare-monarchy or absolutism? This question is emerged because as he described about king's privileges, it can become him absolute/despotic and he did not think about citizens' rights.

Niccolo Machiavelli was a political philosopher from Florence Italy. He lived during the Italian Renaissance from May 1469 to 1527. This period in time that Machiavelli lived was the "rebirth" of art in Italy and rediscovery of ancient philosophy, literature and science. Machiavelli had discussed this in the beginning of 'The Prince' about the human nature. Machiavelli had assumed and had given the human nature a dark picture to an extreme that some think that he had considered humans to that of animals.

According to Machiavelli human nature is completely selfish and full of ego and that they always think about their own self interest like the masses desire safety and security and the ruler wants power, and that they are very selfish to gain and conquer their motives. Machiavelli has described humans as bad, evil, selfish, egoistic and depraved.

Machiavelli's preference for popular or free government, however excluded all those who did not own a "stake in their own" country such as women and children, servants, foreigners and any other dependents. The minority left were expected to be to show keen interest in public affairs as well as be patriotic and independent.

Machiavelli proposed two different standards of morality and placed the state above morality. Thus Machiavelli divorced politics from theology and government from politics. He gave the state non-religious character. He did not view the state as having a moral end and purpose but gave importance to man's worldly life. He believed that politics is an independent activity with its own principles and laws.

#### 4.14 REVIEW QUESTIONS

##### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What are the political ideas of Kautiliya?
2. How many elements of state are there in Kautiliya theory?
3. Who according to Kautiliya had a divine origin?
4. What kinds of historical examples does Machiavelli use to demonstrate his ideas?
5. Who was Niccolo Machiavelli? Briefly explain his philosophical thoughts related to state.

##### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What kinds of states does Machiavelli describe? How do they differ from one another, and why?

2. What did Kautilya's Arthashastra teach?
3. Why does Machiavelli claim that it is better for a prince "to be both loved and feared?" Is it possible for a prince to be both?
4. How does Machiavelli define virtue? Was his definition a break from the Western tradition of political philosophy that preceded him?
5. What are the qualities of the ideal prince, according to Machiavelli?

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#### 4.15 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. **Kautilya's Arthashastra deals with the aspects of**
  - a. Social life
  - b. Political policies
  - c. Religious life
  - d. Economic life
2. **The most famous educational centre during the period of Mauryan age was**
  - a. Nalanda
  - b. Ujjain
  - c. Takshila
  - d. Vaishali
3. **When was Niccolo Machiavelli born?**
  - a. 2 February 1444
  - b. 3 May 1469
  - c. 23 August 1449
  - d. 23 November 1455
4. **Where did Niccolo Machiavelli die?**
  - a. 21 June 1527
  - b. 3 May 1469
  - c. 23 August 1449
  - d. 23 November 1455
5. **\_\_\_\_\_ was in favour of maintaining a national army without which a state cannot survive for longer period.**
  - a. Kautilya
  - b. Chandragupta Maurya
  - c. Machavelli
  - d. None of these.
6. **Where was Niccolo Machiavelli born?**
  - a. Milan
  - b. Turin
  - c. Vienna
  - d. Florence
7. **Where did Niccolo Machiavelli die?**
  - a. Milan
  - b. Turin

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- c. Vienna
  - d. Florence
- 8. What is the other name of 'Council of States'?**
- a. Amataya
  - b. Vairajya
  - c. Bandyopadhyaya
  - d. None of the above.
- 9. What is the other name for 'Country'?**
- a. Janpad
  - b. Durg
  - c. Kosh
  - d. Amatya
- 10. Kautilya believed in \_\_\_\_\_.**
- a. Idealism
  - b. Pragmatism
  - c. Dim-witted
  - d. None of these

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# **VEDA VYASA AND MAHATMA GANDHI**

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**STRUCTURE**

- 5.1 Learning Objective
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Veda Vyasa
- 5.4 King's Duties
- 5.5 Punishment and Justice
- 5.6 War Rules
- 5.7 Mahatma Gandhi
- 5.8 State Considerations
- 5.9 Ideas of Freedom
- 5.10 Equality and Gandhi
- 5.11 Social Justice and Gandhi
- 5.12 Chapter Summary
- 5.13 Review Questions
- 5.14 Multiple Choice Questions



## 5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVE

**After the study of this unit, you will be able to:**

- Learn about Veda Vyasa
- Know about the King's duties as stated by Veda Vyasa
- Know about the war rules as expressed by Veda Vyasa
- Learn about Mahatma Gandhi
- Know about his views on Freedom, Equality, Justice etc.

## 5.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit will provide us with a clear understanding of the concept of the Rajadharma of Ved Vyasa. He is one of the greatest sages in the history of the Hindu religious world. He is unanimously considered the author of the popular and lengthiest epic the Mahabharat. He was born of sage Parashara and Satyawati. Vyasa appears for the first time as the compiler of, and an important character in the Mahabharata. Shanti Parva is an important part or book among 18 books of the Indian Epic Mahabharat. The political philosophy of Vyasa in Mahabharat is mainly found in Shantiparva. It generally depicts the narration of Bhishma on his death bed to Yudhistira about Rajadharma. The origin of the State (Rajya) as well as the office of the king and the evolving of Raja Dharma the law conferring 2 power on the king to maintain the rule of law and the directives for the exercise of power has been explained in Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata. This unit will also broadly discuss the life and works of Vyasa, the Concept of Rajadharma in Mahabharat, Shantiparva on Caste, and Governance.

Later in the chapter you'll learn about Gandhi's views on freedom, equality social justice which were based on the insights he drew from his encounters with culture and religion—his own and those of others. They are all about a spiritual revolution which has to begin with the individual, with no regret whatsoever, even if one has to be alone in the struggle. Many of his ideals, which emerged in the context of a nation struggling for political independence, contained references to a just society. Gandhi felt that political freedom would mean nothing unless the oppressed millions in Indian society are socially and economically free. Near the end of his life, he asserted "the Congress [Party] has won political freedom, but it is yet to win economic freedom, social and moral freedoms. These freedoms are harder than the political, if only because they are constructive, less exciting and not spectacular" (letter by Gandhi, January 27, 1948, New Delhi, cited in Gangrade, 2005, p. 140).

Is Gandhi's outlook on social justice a dull, drab theory devoid of joy? For a modern mind in pursuit of happiness that is usually equated with sensual pleasure, it might seem so. However, Gandhi's aims and goals are not devoid of the principle of happiness. "To the same extent as we make progress towards our goal we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent, too, shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society". This view is a reality, as has been established by various spiritual traditions. By linking the spiritual vision into the material world of possession and consumption, Gandhi is but one more of those few voices, which have alerted humanity that our happiness involves finding the right balance (yoga) between material and spiritual realities.



### 5.3 VEDA VYASA

Ved Vyasa, the author of the great epic Mahabharata, is known as Maharshi Vyasa in Hindu tradition. He is generally considered the author of the Mahabharata, as well as a character in it. He is considered to be the scribe of both the Vedas and Puranas. The festival of Guru Purnima is dedicated to him. It is also known as Vyasa Purnima, for it is the day believed to be both his birthday and the day he divided the Vedas. Vyasa appears for the first time as the compiler of, and an important character in, the Mahabharata. It is said that he was the expansion of the god Vishnu who came in Dwapara Yuga to make all the Vedic knowledge available in written form which was available in spoken form at that time.

He was the son of Satyawati, the daughter of Vasu Uparichara and the adopted daughter of the fisherman Dasharaj, and sage Parashara (who is credited with being the author of the first Purana: Vishnu Purana), son of sage Vasishtha. Vyasa was born on an island in the Yamuna River, according to legend Satyawati, the mother of Vyasa used to drive a boat in her youth in the river Yamuna. One day, she helped Parashara to cross the river Yamuna. He was enchanted by her beauty and wanted an heir from her. Initially, Satyawati did not agree, telling that if others would see them, then her purity would be questioned. Parashara created a secret place in the bushes of a nearby island and a blanket of thick fog. She conceived and immediately gave birth to a son. Parashara named him Krishna Dvaipayana, referring to his dark complexion and birthplace.

Dvaipayana became an adult and promised his mother that he would come to her when needed. Parashara restored Satyawati's virginity, gifted her an enchanting smell, and left with his son. Satyawati kept this incident a secret, not telling even King Shantanu whom she was married to later. Later, Chitrangada and Vichitravirya were born in Shantanu and Satyawati. But, both of them passed away early without leaving an heir. There were two wives of Vichitra virya named Ambika and Ambalika. The bereaved Satyawati initially pleaded before her stepson Bhishma to marry both the queens to preserve the royal ascendancy, but he refused to do so, citing his vow of celibacy.

Thus, Satyawati, at last, revealed her secret past and requested Bhishma to bring her firstchild Vyasa to impregnate the widows of Vichitra virya under a tradition called Niyoga. By this time, Vyasa had compiled the four Vedas. Sage Vyasa was looking so untidy because of his prolonged meditation in the dense forest. Hence upon seeing him, Ambika became afraid and closed her eyes with fear which resulted in a birth of a blind child who was named Dhritarashtra. The other queen, Ambalika, turned pale upon meeting Vyasa, as a result, their child was born with a 3 pale body and who later named Pandu. Having been dissatisfied with all these, Satyawati requested her son Vyasato meet Ambika again and grant her another son.

But, Ambika sent her maid in her place to Vyasa. The obedient maid was calm and peaceful during their meeting, so their child was born with good health who was later named Vidura. According to Skanda Purana, Maharshi Vyasa was wedded with Vatika alias Pinjala, the daughter of a sage Jabali. They had a son named Shuka, he was his spiritual successor and heir. There were four other disciples of Maharshi Vyasa, they were Paula, Jaimini, Vaishampayana, and Sumantu. Each one of them was separately given the responsibility to disseminate the ideas of the four Vedas.

Paila was made in charge of the Rig-Veda, Jaimini was assigned of the Samaveda, Vaishampayana of the Yajurveda, and Sumantu of Atharvaveda. Vyasa is believed to have his abode on the bank of the river Ganga in modernday Uttarakhand. The site was also the ritual residence of the sage Vashishta and the Pandavas, the five brothers of the



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Mahabharata. Owing to his dark complexion and birthplace, Maharshi Vyasa was known as Krishna Dvaipayana in his childhood. He is referred to as Veda Vyasa because he is believed to have arranged the single eternal Veda into four Vedas.

The four Vedas are:

- Rig-Veda
- Sama Veda
- Yajur Veda
- Atharva Veda

The word Vyasa 'means compiler,' arranger,' It also resembles the word 'split,' 'differentiator' 'describe'. The word Vyasa is also used for a holy sage or a pious learned man known for his distinguished writings. It is generally believed in Hindu tradition that Vyasa had categorized the single Veda into four Vedas to make them easily comprehensible for the common people.

Hence, he was called Veda Vyasa, or 'Splitter of the Vedas'. However, different Puranas and literature have illustrated Vyasa in different ways, which are discussed as follows: Vyasa was not only regarded as the author of the epic but also remembered as an important character in it. To write the Mahabharata, Vyasa asked Lord Ganesha to assist him but Lord Ganesha placed a condition that he would help him to compose the text only if Vyasa would narrate him the story without pausing.

In response to him, Vyasa also set a counter-condition that Ganesha should understand the verses first before drafting them. Thus, Vyasa narrated the entire Mahabharata to Lord Ganesha while he was writing down those. Vyasa is also believed as the author of the eighteen major Puraṇas of Hindu tradition. His son Shuka was mentioned as the narrator of the Bhagavata Purana to Arjuna's grandson Parikshit.

Badarayana was credited with writing the Brahma Sutras, one of Vedanta's core books and he was also known as Vyasa in some writings, which means —one who arranges.|| Vaishnava Acharyas mentioned Badarayana as Vyasa. However, some modern historians believe that these were two distinct persons. According to them, there may have been more than one Vyasa or the name Vyasa may have been used several times for the texts. Vyasa is believed to have documented, compiled much of the ancient Hindu literature. He is generally considered the original writer of the great epic the Mahabharata.

### The Origin of State

The origin of state, which is a major aspect of politics, has been defined in the Vana parva in Mahabharata. The Shantiparva clarifies that in the state of nature, the institution of state did not exist. There was no kingly office and the people there had sense of thine and mine. The point towards the fact that the absence of the ruler coincided with the absence of private property. Nearly all classical works and anthropological evidence make us determine that there was a golden age of harmony and happiness when people led happy and peaceful lives.

This harmonious and happy life was destroyed by the discovery of the art of agriculture, which empowered people to produce more than they could consume. For the first time, they established houses, stored rice, and divided the fields with boundaries naming them as individual properties, but people began to snatch away the rice of others without their consent. This led to a search for some authority to protect their fields and properties.

Political Concerns and Key Ideas Shantiparva speculates at one place that people went in search of a king in order to protect their property, family and Varna's. They were also

prepared to give him a certain share of their own property. Under such circumstances, Manu, finally accepted kinship to protect property, family and Varnas. From the 67th chapter of Shantiparva, we come to know that there was a contract of people to get rid of sinfulness. Shantiparva also explores the origin of the state on the grounds that when sinfulness prevails in the world, men cannot own and enjoy their own wives, animals, fields and houses. Shantiparva states that in the absence of the king, inter-mixture of castes would take place.

Further, Shantiparva also stated that Dharma is meant to aid the acquisition and preservation of wealth - if Adharma increases, it causes confusion among the varnas. Therefore, it is believed that the king's preservation of Dharma signified nothing but the defense of the social order based on family, property and the caste system. We can see the conditions existing in the state of nature, the necessity to uphold Dharma, protection of property, family and Varna system by the King. This might have resulted in the creation of the state.

From the above there are two points that come out clearly –

- First, in the Shantiparva, we find the origin of the state or kinship.
- Second, two theories of origin of state have been given –
  - The divine origin theory and
  - The social contract theory. When Manu became the king with a large army, he set out to make conquest. People began to fear King and observe Dharma. This theory contains three elements –
    - The people lived under the law of jungle.
    - With the object of improving the situation, Brahma created the King, who was chosen by the people.
    - A contract was made between the King and the people. Society and state are institutions which are very closely inter-related.

Ancient Indian political thinkers while dealing with the subject took recourse to legends and mythology and regarded the state as a divine institution which was created by god to ensure security and justice for mankind against the law of the jungle, which had somehow set in among them at the end of the golden age. The theory of divine origin speculates that the state is the creation of God, and the king rules in his name. The origins of this theory found in the Rigveda, which mentions that Brahma created the Kshatriyas or protectors. The Mahabharata also refers to it many times. The divine origin of state is further elaborated through the story of Prthu Vainya.

His supernatural appearance, coronation by the Gods, and the entrance of Vishnu into his body, clearly indicate the divine origin of Kingship. Matsyanyaya is known as the theory of force, and it pre-supposes an inherent propensity of man to encroach upon his weaker neighbor, and to be prone to commit acts of disorder and aggression. The Shantiparva refers to the seven elements of state, but it does not enumerate them in the same order as mentioned in other works like those of the Kautilya's Arthashastra and the Manusmriti.

All the experts admit that the Atman (king) is an important element of the state. The king is the head of the state; He is the fountain of justice. He has to deal with Veda Vyasa Rajdharma (Shantiparva) judicial, taxation, religious and cultural problems. He has to protect and regulate the Varna organization and Ashram system. Amatya (minister and



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officials) is the second constituent of the state. In the Shantiparva, a sachiva is king's helper and Amatya is regarded as his private secretary.

The Amatya is an important element of formation of state in ancient India. Treasury (Kosa) is another constituent of the state. The co-relation of king and his treasury is emphasized. The king should take care of seven limbs and Kosa is one of them. The rich treasury depends up on the righteous king. Durg was considered the strength of the sovereign. It was believed that with a well-equipped fort, a king could defend his country against stronger enemy. The next element Mitra (ally, Friend) is an important principal of state. Ally refers to different kinds of friends.

- In Bhishma, Santiparva says that there are four kinds of friends or allies-
  - Sahartha are those who are hereditary friends
  - Bhajamana
  - Sahaja are the kin-related ones and
  - Kritrima are the ones who had been turned into friends by gifts etc.

In the 69th chapter of Shantiparva, it is said that when a king is attacked, then for his defence against the aggressors, he should see that the bridges over rivers are destroyed and water from ponds is not taken out.

#### 5.4 KING'S DUTIES

"DHARMA" and "PRAJAHIT" are the two key duties of a king. Here DHARMA stands for cosmic order that is RITI, and PRAJAHIT means helping those people who were unable to help themselves, there were many ways of doing PRAJAHIT such as building roads, providing jobs, ensuring the security of people by eliminating both internal and external threats.

As per Bisham, it is the duty of the king to give up all his likes and dislikes. The king should act fearless and should perform all his acts as per the DHARMA and should always behave in an impartial manner. It is also the duty of the king to ensure the prosperity of the state. The king should respect the advice of pursuit and the king must deliver the "JUSTICE" as according to the "DHARMA".

The king was the real executive. He has to perform the executive functions as established by dharma. The king was both an appointing and a removal authority. The Shantiparva suggests to the appointment of the ministers by the king. He has to keep in view one's long administrative experiences and code of conduct. In inter-state relations, it was the duty of the king to appoint the spies and ambassadors. It was his duty to get information about the defense of state. The king had to perform some financial duties.

He must realize one-sixth tax from the subjects in lieu of giving protection. On this ground, king has been treated as the servant of the people. Personal safety is an important duty of the king. He must be safe from external threats. The protection of all the Varna's was one of the important duties of the king. There are some welfare duties of the king. The occupation of Trade and commerce also contribute to the economic prosperity of state, so the kings have to treat the merchants harmoniously.

For the defense of country and promotion of trade and commerce, the easy means of communications are essential, so the king has to build roads throughout his empire. It is the king's duty to help the subjects with financial assistance during draught, flood and famine, as during such periods, they suffer more. The Vedas are the supreme source

of dharma, so, their preservation is essential. Preservation of Vedas may be done by punishing those who create difficulties in the way of Vedic studies.

In Shantiparva, Rajdharma is understood as the duties and obligations relevant to political and administrative activities. Through government, peace, law and order Ved Vyasa Rajdharma (Shantiparva) essential to maintain in the state. The main work of government is the happiness of the people, ensuring to provide justice is the other aim of the government. In the state, the King is the head of the government. In good governments, administration people sleep carefully, fearlessly. Executive was made of the combination of King, ministers and other officials. Besides executive, legislature and judiciary were two other organs of government.

However, importance given to the executive mainly. In Shantiparva, there was a great emphasis on the above ministers. In the absence of the dutiful and able ministers, King cannot run government properly. In Shantiparva, King advised to keep the intelligent, dutiful ministers. Bhishma's general attitude towards the standard of the King government.

In Sabha Parva, there is description about purohits. The duty of these Purohits was to bring King on 'Sanmarg' by these good sentences and speeches. These Purohits were intelligent, polite and belonged to high families. The Rajpurohits were fearless, Dharma followers and guided the King on various occasions. Therefore, protection of the people, in a wide sense, material and moral alike, was the chief function of the government.

## 5.5 PUNISHMENT AND JUSTICE

Dandniti, the term used in Mahabharata means the science of coercion. Viewed in the context as a whole, it is best rendered as the science of governance. As the reins check the steed or as an iron hook controls an elephant, so dandniti keeps the world under restraints. It destroys every evil as the sun destroys the darkness. About the importance of dandniti, Bhishma says, that if dandniti is destroyed, the three Vedas will disappear and the duties of the four varnas will mix up. On the destruction of dandniti and instability of Rajadharma, all people suffer from many evils.

It is the prime duty of the king to be fully versed in dandniti. Danda protects the people and it awakes those who sleep; hence, Dand is called as Dharma. Because of the fear of danda (punishment), the sinners do not indulge in sin, people do not kill others. If danda is not observed, everything will be enveloped by darkness. There are four ends of life- Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha. Dharma is regarded as human justice and the set of duties. The concept of Dharma is the truth; it is the morality in true sense. All religious exercise is Dharma and it is the law. Artha includes all the means necessary for acquiring worldly prosperity.

Artha refers to one of the ends of life on one hand, and on the other to one of the purusharthas that satisfies human desires. Kama refers to the desires in man including the sexual urge. Moksha in the fourth and the highest end of life. It paves the path for the progress of soul. Bhishma explains the fundamental importance of the king's office for justice and dandniti. According to Bhishma, people can live happily only if they live under the law. He also describes the four sources of law- Devasammat, Arsha Srota, Lok Sammat and Sanstha-Sammat.

In the time of emergency, the ordinary rules must be suspended. If the people are in distress, the king must come to their aid with his treasure. If government face a crisis, as on the outbreak of war, it is justified adopting financial measures. In emergency, king should take his subjects into 104 Political Concerns and Key Ideas confidence. He should



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explain the whole situation to them and then impose extra tax. For the sake of saving life, it is right to make a treaty with an enemy. The treasure and the army are the sole root of the government. Shantiparva is one extended argument for the assigned interest of the community in the welfare of the king and government.

## 5.6 WAR RULES

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Strict rules of war followed in Mahabharata:

- The battle used to start after sunrise and used to end after sunset. Only a one-to-one encounter was allowed, only if both the soldiers carried equally powerful weapons.
- No one was allowed to any soldier, who had surrendered, but would be made a war prisoner. The security of the bonded soldier lied with the opponent.
- A soldier could not be attacked on his back.
- A soldier not carrying any weapons or unconscious soldiers could not be attacked.
- No woman was allowed to be killed in the battle.
- No animal could be killed unless in self-defence.
- There were strict rules regarding the use of different kinds of weapons.
- Mahabharata is India's greatest and most important epic. The story of Mahabharata was so long and complicated that Veda Vyasa kept thinking for years whom to make its sutra dhar.
- Mahabharata has been written with one lakh shlokas.
- Lord Ganesha was pleased to write this epic and he agreed, but with a condition that he would write it completely in one go and if stopped in between, he won't finish it.

## 5.7 MAHATMA GANDHI

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Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest leader of the Indian independence movement. His life was his lesson, and to till day inspires many around the world. Read this post to know about Gandhi's biography, family, education, life, philosophy, quotes and so on.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi was a lawyer, nationalist, and anti-colonial activist. He led a non-violent mass movement against the British rule of India which ultimately resulted in Indian independence. Mahatma Gandhi is revered in India as the Father of the Nation.

### **The early life of Mahatma Gandhi: Birth and Family**

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2nd October 1869, in Porbandar in the princely state of Kathiawar in Gujarat. His father was Karamchand Uttamchand Gandhi who served as a dewan of Porbandar state. His mother was Putlibai who came from Junagadh. Mohandas was the youngest of four children. He had two brothers and a sister. At age of 13; Mohandas was married to 14-year-old Kastubai Makhanji Kapadia as was the custom at that time. His father passed away in 1885, and the same year he and his wife lost their first child. The Gandhi couple later had four sons over the years.

### **Education of Mahatma Gandhi**

Gandhi Ji received his primary education in Rajkot where his father had relocated as dewan to the ruler Thakur Sahib. He went to Alfred high school in Rajkot at the age of

11. In 1887, at the age of 18, Gandhi Ji graduated from a high school in Ahmedabad. He later enrolled at a college in Bhavnagar but dropped out later. He had also joined and eventually dropped out of a college in Bombay.

He then went to London in 1888 to pursue law from the university college. After completing his studies, he was invited to be enrolled at Inner temple to become a barrister. He returned to India in 1891 at the age of 22 after his mother passed away. He failed to establish a successful law career both in Rajkot and Bombay. In 1893, he moved to Durban, South Africa, on a one-year contract to sort out the legal problems of Abdullah, a Gujarati merchant.

### South Africa during the 1800s

The British had colonized and settled in the Natal and Cape provinces of South Africa during the 1840s and 50s. Transvaal and Orange Free State were independent Boer (British and Dutch settlers) ruled states. Boer means farmer settler in Dutch and Afrikaans. The governance of colonial regions (Natal and Cape) was controlled by the minority white population which enforced segregation between government-defined races in all spheres.

This created three societies- whites (British and Dutch or Boer ancestry), Blacks and Coloureds (mixed race) which included ethnic Asians (Indians, Malayans, Filipinos, and Chinese). The Indian immigration to South Africa began in the 1860s, when whites recruited indentured Indian labour (Girmityas), especially from south India, to work on sugar plantations. Later many Indian merchants, mostly meman Muslims also migrated. By the 1890s, the children of the ex-indentured labourers had settled down in South Africa making up the third group.

### Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa

**1893:** Mohandas Gandhi witnessed extreme apartheid or racial discrimination against the Asians in South Africa. His journey from Durban to Pretoria witnessed the famous incident when he was thrown out of a first-class compartment by a white man at Pietermaritzburg station. Upon arriving at Johannesburg, he was refused rooms in the hotels.

These experiences motivated him to stay in South Africa for a longer period to organize the Indian workers to enable them to fight for their rights. He started teaching English to the Asian population there and tried to organize them to protest against the oppression.

**1894:** After the culmination of his Abdullah case in 1894, he stayed on there and planned to assist Indians in opposing a bill to deny them the right to vote. He founded the Natal Indian Congress and moulded the Indian community into a unified political force.

### 1899-1902: The Boer War

The Boer War extended Britain's control from Natal and Cape Province to include Transvaal and Orange Free State.

During this time, Gandhi volunteered to form a group of stretcher-bearers as the Natal Indian ambulance corps. It consisted of indentured laborers and was funded by the Indian community and helped treatment and evacuation of wounded British soldiers.

Gandhi Ji thought that helping the British war efforts would win over the British imperial government and earn sympathy for the plight of Indians there. He was also awarded the Queen's South Africa Medal for serving the British Empire.

Till 1906, it was the moderate phase of the struggle for the Indians in South Africa. During this time, Gandhi concentrated on petitioning and sending memorials to the legislatures, colonial secretary in London, and the British parliament.



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**1906: The Civil Disobedience in South Africa**

The failure of moderate methods led to the second phase of the struggle, civil disobedience or the Satyagraha.

He started two settlements- the Phoenix settlement in Durban and the Tolstoy farm in Johannesburg for helping the needy and initiating a communal living tradition. His first notable resistance was against the law passed by the government, making it compulsory for Indians to take out certifications of registrations that held their fingerprints and was compulsory to carry it on the person at all times. Gandhi formed a Passive Resistance Association against this.

Gandhi and his followers were jailed. Later the government agreed to withdraw the law if Indians voluntarily registered. They were tricked into the registrations and they protested again by publicly burning their certificates.

**1908:** The existing campaign expanded to protest against the new law to restrict migrations of Indians between provinces. Gandhi and others were jailed and sentenced to hard physical labor.

**1910:** Gandhi Ji set up the Tolstoy farm in Johannesburg to ready the satyagrahis to the harsh conditions of the prison hence helping to keep the resistance moving forward.

**1911:** Gopal Krishna Gokhale visited South Africa as a state guest on the occasion of the coronation of King George V. Gokhale and Gandhi met at Durban and established a good relationship.

**1913:** The satyagraha continued against varied oppressive laws brought by the government. The movement against the law invalidating marriages not conducted according to Christian rites brought out many Indian women onto the movement.

Gandhi launched a final mass movement of over 2000 men, women, and children. They were jailed and forced to miserable conditions and hard labor. This caused the whole Indian community in South Africa to rise on strike. In India, Gokhale worked to make the public aware of the situation in South Africa which led to the then Viceroy Hardinge to call for an inquiry into the atrocities.

A series of negotiations took place between Gandhiji, Viceroy Hardinge, CR Andrews (Christian missionary and Indian Independence activist), and General Smuts of South Africa. This led to the government conceding to most of the Indians' demands.

**Gandhiji's return to India: 1915**

1915: On the request of Gokhale, conveyed by CF Andrews (Deenbandhu), Gandhi Ji returned to India to help with the Indian struggle for independence. The last phase of the Indian National movement is known as the Gandhian era. Mahatma Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the National Movement. His principles of nonviolence and Satyagraha were employed against the British government. Gandhi made the nationalist movement a mass movement.

On returning to India in 1915, Gandhi toured the country for one year on Gokhale's insistence. He then established an ashram in Ahmedabad to settle his phoenix family. He first took up the cause of indentured labour in India thus continuing his fight in South Africa to abolish it. Gandhiji joined the Indian National Congress and was introduced to Indian issues and politics and Gokhale became his political Guru.

1917: At this point, World war I was going on, and Britain and France were in a difficult position. Germany had inflicted a crushing defeat on both the British and French troops



in France. Russia's war effort had broken down and the revolution was threatening its government.

America had entered the war but no American troops had yet reached the war front. The British army required reinforcements urgently and they looked to India for participation. Viceroy Chelmsford had invited various Indian leaders to attend a war conference. Gandhi was also invited and he went to Delhi to attend the conference.

After attending the viceroy's war conference Gandhiji agreed to support the recruitment of Indians in the British war effort. He undertook a recruitment campaign in Kaira district, Gujarat.

He again believed that support from Indians will make the British government look at their plight sympathetically after the war.

### **Early movements by Gandhiji**

Champaran Satyagraha, Kheda Satyagraha, and Ahmedabad Mill Strike were the early movements of Gandhi before he was elevated into the role of a national mass leader.

#### **1917: Champaran Satyagraha**

Champaran Satyagraha of 1917 was the first civil disobedience movement organized by Gandhiji, Rajkumar Shukla asked Gandhi to look into the problems of the Indigo planters. The European planters had been forcing peasants to grow Indigo on a 3/20 of the total land called the tinkatiya system.

Gandhi organized a passive resistance or civil disobedience against the tinkatiya system. Finally, the authorities relented and permitted Gandhi to make inquiries among the peasants. The government appointed a committee to look into the matter and nominated Gandhi as a member.

Rajendra Prasad, Anugrah Narayan Sinha, and other eminent lawyers became inspired by Gandhi and volunteered to fight for the Indigo farmers in court for free.

Gandhi was able to convince the authorities to abolish the system and the peasants were compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them.

#### **1918: Kheda satyagraha**

The Kheda Satyagraha was the first noncooperation movement organized by Gandhi. Because of the drought in 1918 crops failed in the Kheda district of Gujarat. According to the revenue code if the yield was less than one-fourth of the normal produced the farmers for entitled to remission. Gujarat sabha sent a petition requesting revenue assessment for the year 1919 but the authorities refused to grant permission.

Gandhi supported the peasants' cause and asked them to withhold revenue. During the Satyagraha, many young nationalists such as Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Indulal Yagnik became Gandhi's followers. Sardar Patel led a group of eminent people who went around villages and gave them political advisors and instructions.

The government finally agreed to form an agreement with the farmers and hence the taxes were suspended for the years 1919 and 1920 and all confiscated properties were returned.

#### **1918: Ahmedabad mill strike**

This was Gandhi's first hunger strike. He intervened in a dispute between Mill owners of Ahmedabad and the workers over the issue of discontinuation of the plague bonus. The workers were demanding a rise of 50% in their wages while the employees were willing to concede only a 20% bonus.



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The striking workers turned to Anusuiya Sarabai in quest of justice and she contacted Gandhi for help. He asked the workers to go on a strike and to remain non-violent and undertook a fast unto death to strengthen the workers' resolve. The mill owners finally agreed to submit the issue to a tribunal and the strike was withdrawn in the end the workers receive a 35% increase in the wages.

### **Gandhi's active involvement in the Indian National Movement**

Gandhi's active involvement in the Indian Freedom Struggle was marked by many mass movements like the Khilafat Movement, Non-Cooperation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, and Quit India Movement.

#### **1919: Khilafat movement**

During World war I Gandhi sought cooperation from the Muslims in his fight against the British by supporting the Ottoman Empire that had been defeated in the world war. The British passed the Rowlatt act to block the movement. Gandhi called for a nationwide Satyagraha against the act.

It was Rowlatt Satyagraha that elevated Gandhi into a national leader. Rowlatt Satyagraha was against the unjust Rowlatt Act passed by the British. On April 13th, 1919 the Jallianwala Bagh incident took place. Seeing the violence spread Mahatma Gandhi called off the civil disobedience movement on 18th April.

#### **1920: Non-Cooperation Movement**

Gandhi convinced the congress leaders to start a Non-Cooperation Movement in support of Khilafat as well as Swaraj. At the congress session of Nagpur in 1920, the non-cooperation program was adopted.

**1922: Chauri chaura incident** took place, which caused Gandhi to withdraw the non-cooperation movement.

After the non-cooperation movement ended, Gandhi withdrew from the political platform and focused on his social reform work.

#### **1930: The Salt March and The Civil Disobedience Movement**

Gandhi declared that he would lead a march to break the salt law as the law gave the state the Monopoly to the manufacturer and the sale of salt. Gandhi along with his followers marched from his ashram in Sabarmati to the coastal town of Dandi in Gujarat where they broke the government law by gathering natural salt and boiling seawater to produce salt. This also marked the beginning of the civil disobedience movement.

#### **1931: The Gandhi Irwin pact**

Gandhi accepted the truce offered by Irwin and called off the civil disobedience movement and agreed to attend the second round table conference in London as the representative of the Indian National Congress. But when he returned from London he re-launched the civil disobedience movement but by 1934 it had lost its momentum.

#### **1932: Poona pact**

This was a pact reached between B.R Ambedkar and Gandhi concerning the communal awards but in the end, strived to achieve a common goal for the upliftment of the marginalized communities of the Indian society.

1934: Gandhi resigned from the Congress party membership as he did not agree with the party's position on varied issues. Gandhi returned to active politics in 1936 with the Lucknow session of Congress where Jawaharlal Nehru was the president.

1938: Gandhi and Subhash Chandra Bose's principles clashed during the Tripuri session which led to the Tripuri crisis in the Indian National Congress.

### 1942: Quit India movement

The outbreak of World war II and the last and crucial phase of national struggle in India came together. The failure of the Cripps mission in 1942 gave rise to the Quit India movement. Gandhi was arrested and held at Aga Khan Palace in Pune. During this time his wife Kasturba died after 18 months of imprisonment and in 1944 Gandhi suffered a severe malaria attack.

He was released before the end of the war on 6th May 1944. World war II was nearing an end and the British gave clear indications that power would be transferred to Indians hence Gandhi called off the struggle and all the political prisoners were released including the leaders of Congress.

### Partition and independence

Gandhiji opposed the partition of India along religious lines. While he and Congress demanded the British to quit India the Muslim league demanded to divide and quit India. All of Gandhi's efforts to help the Congress and Muslim league reach an agreement to corporate and attain independence failed.

Gandhiji did not celebrate the independence and end of British rule but appealed for peace among his countrymen. He was never in agreement for the country to be partitioned. His demeanour played a key role in pacifying the people and avoiding a Hindu Muslim riot during the partition in the rest of India.

### Death of Mahatma Gandhi

#### 30th January 1948

Gandhiji was on his way to address a prayer meeting in the Birla House New Delhi when Nathuram Godse fired three bullets into his chest from close range killing him instantly.

### Mahatma Gandhi's legacy

Throughout his life, in his principles practices, and beliefs, he always held on to non-violence and simple living. He influenced many great leaders and the nation respectfully addresses him as the father of the nation or Bapu. He worked for the upliftment of untouchables and called them Harijan meaning the children of God.

Rabindranath Tagore is said to have accorded the title of Mahatma to Gandhi. It was Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose who first addressed him as the Father of the Nation. Many great world leaders like Nelson Mandela followed Gandhiji's teachings and way of life. Hence, his impact on the global stage is still very profound.

### Literary works of Mahatma Gandhi

Gandhiji was a prolific writer and he has written many articles throughout his life. He edited several newspapers including Harijan in Gujarati, Indian opinion in South Africa, and Young India in English. He also wrote several books including his autobiography "The Story Of My Experiments with Truth".

## 5.8 STATE CONSIDERATIONS

Gandhiji was not a political philosopher. He developed his thought in various perspectives while facing the real situation in present India. His thoughts were not only abstract in real sense, but also have lots of importance. We may say he was a famous Indian political leader. He led the anti-colonial nationalist movement. His involvement in various campaigns was



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crucial in India. Gandhi's concept of state is regarded as a new notion. He described in his own attitude to develop the political thought. Liberalism, idealism, individualism and philosophical anarchism- all are included in his thought. In a conventional way, Gandhiji was not a political philosopher such as Plato and Aristotle.

After focusing the real problematic area of human beings, he has been giving his thought that we can apply in our society. He applied the universal truth in every human beings. The notion of state has been widely explained in different way by Gandhiji. The universal truth of Gandhi to describe the notion of state, it represents violence in concentrated and organized form.

Gandhiji was one of the important scholars in Indian modern political era. His social and political thoughts played significant roles in Indian politics, Indian social reformation & Indian developmental process. He considered himself as a humanitarian. He was influenced by spiritual notion. He thought state will be harmful institution when state's power is growing. State can reduce the personality of human beings.

According to him, man has soul, but state is a soulless machine. So state can apply the power of violence. State damages individual responsibility and personality. Natural human behavior is also damaged due to the increasing role of state. Due to the complex structure of State and its functions state can't develop human morality. Every individual has own thinking power, this institution damages individual's freedom. According to Gandhi state is an interventionist to the take the decision of Individual. Individual is more depended on state, because state is higher decision making body. Individual is dependent to state's functions.

Thus individual is not capable to imagine his life without state. Mechanical functions are conducted by state in a systematic way, state cannot tolerate individual's own view. State acts as ruler to govern the whole society as a soulless institution. State denies emotion and motivation of individual. State can apply the power of threat to require the loyalty. Thus state is a well-organized form of violence. The existence of state depends on violence. State not only applies physical force but also wants a repression in terms of socio-economic sphere of society. Gandhi's whole philosophy is the struggle of non-violence and to focus on how every individual enjoys their rights and dignity. So he was unable to support the state

State is abstract institution. It has the direct involvement to use the force. State can use the violence through the implementation of law, rules and regulations. State does not use of force continuously. State can apply the force, as any person does not claim directly. According to Gandhiji the formation of state is to implement force. Gandhiji had opposed the power of state-sovereignty. He believed that well organized form is power. State can apply violence through various perspectives:

- Through the declaration of war.
- Through the punishment system
- Through the exploitative economic system

Gandhiji was facing aggressive role from the western countries. He denied the importance of parliamentary form of government. The spoil of wealth, apply of power and formation of ideology were the main reasons behind the war. From the ancient period man has been following this policy. So Gandhiji considered both terms modern civilization and violence are complementary to each other. He strongly argued that these two terms should be repealed. Punishment or threat of punishment may apply the state to the individuals, but natural or congenital loyalty does not come from the individual.



Gandhiji criticized the notion of state. Individuals generally are self-conscious and ethical conscious. So they are unable to adjust such as unethical institution like state. Man has to image alternative social structure system instead of state. Generally Gandhiji admitted the positive role of state before 1920s, after 1920s he totally denied the state roles. From the philosophy of Non-violence and History, Gandhiji was led to conceive of stateless non-violence democracy. He held that the state is rooted in violence and so is essentially an instrument of oppression and exploitation.

The state employs force, and its existence cannot be morally justified, by the use of violence the state hinders progress by destroying individuality of the individual. (Bhattacharyya, 412,2010). Gandhiji had clearly differentiate state and society. Actually he embodied absolute personal freedom. After concerning the necessity of social control, he emphasized on personal liberty to reach in peak level of state. He condemned the absolute power and responsibility of state.

Though state has a legal power, but people possess the de-facto sovereign power. Gandhiji has been giving more importance to individual freedom but he concerned on necessity of social control. He supported the interdependence on individual and state relations. The two opposite tendencies have been focusing in his political thought. Mixture of idealism and realism can be described in Gandhi's political thought. He was a political anarchist in a sense of idealism, in other sense he was a realist. He was a anarchist from the idealism perspective. He was supported by enlightened anarchy.

Everyone is ruler to each other. Individual knows what is wrong or right. Gandhiji propounded there is no any political power in ideal state, because there is no any existence of state. When we consider Gandhiji was a realist theorist.- he consciously indicated individual's ideal life is not implemented totally. His absolute goal was to create a stateless society, but he does not totally neglect political power like other anarchist theorist. He believed there are few matters in society which is implemented without the influence of political power. He supported the limited government.

He supported Thoreau's views- the best government is, who govern the least. He handed over the power to government is limited. He opposed the centralization process of government. He correctly supported the views on decentralization of government. Decentralization process should be geographical, territorial and technological. He supported the self-rule at panchayat level. Gandhiji does not totally deny the existence of state system. He viewed that it is a symbol of violence. State is the main obstacle to the development process of Individuals.

He wanted to form a state-less society in future in India, where there will be no any existence of violence. Gandhiji's views on ideal political system- there is neither any use of violence, nor of any oppression policy, only has non-violence method which will be applied in society. Contemporary social and political thoughts were described by Gandhiji as injustice, opposing the centralized power but did not want to abolish total state-system.

We get some similarities between Marx's and Gandhiji's perceptions:

- Gandhi and Marx both described state as repression institution.
- Both were focusing on hate as an institution.
- Gandhiji agree to abolish of state to create stateless system, other side Marx said state is a well organized form of violence.
- Both discuss state as an irreconcilable institution.

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Some dissimilarity between the two political thinkers:

- Marx discussed on interest of class. There are two classes-capitalist and bourgeoisie. Gandhiji opposed the institution of state.
- Marx was materialist, in other words, Gandhiji was a spiritualist.
- Non-violence, satya, trusteeship, are some important principles of Gandhiji: class struggle, historical materialism, dialectical materialism, theory of surplus value, dictatorship of proletariat are the basic tenets of Karl Marx.

Gandhian concept of state is very important in 21st century. Actually he is the worshipper of non-violence and personal freedom. He proposed the limited rule and stateless society. Gandhiji believes in pluralistic society. He focuses on religious harmony. He knows how to people get unite. He follows rationalism. His Ramrajya is an Ideal not is a symbol. Ram is the symbol of peace and morality. Everyone respects to each other and loves to each other. But it is a question how is it possible?

Sometimes we may say he is a utopian thinker, but his thought is superior. He has amazing personality. Every individual enjoys his/her rights- these rights based on morality, ethics and norms. He does not mean state's role as an interventionist. We see the how political parties are influencing to citizens or governmental policies to impose the rules to the people. Gandian concept of state has been discussed by academicians, political thinkers, research scholars. There are various conflicts like religious groups, class, ethnic, tribal - these all may unite after the influence of Gandhian views.

His idea of communal unity, removal of untouchability, creation of village industries, basic education, overall development of women, economic equality among the peoples – all are not only given the priority in India but also must be needed in all over world. Opposing the use of mass destruction weapons, experiment relating the nuclear weapons, are very important ideas of Gandhiji. He claims to use of limited natural resource and then upcoming generation will be benefited. That is why, he is the supporter of sustainable development. Excessive use of machine industries, gorgeous life style of man- he opposed this type of behavior.

He is supporter of anti-pollution environment. No doubt M.K. Gandhi, one of the valuable thinkers and well-known personalities in the world. He focuses the creation of ideal society -based on love, truth, non violence, self rule, and individual's rights. Quoting Bhikhu Parekh's word 'although he was profoundly influenced by Hinduism, Christianity and Jainism, his religious thought cut across all of them and was in a class by itself, belief in God was obviously its basis.' Basically Gandhi's views on contemporary social, political and economic issues were focused on liberal term where individual get their privileges' from the state-less society.

Both Gandhiji and Marx wanted the abolition of the state apparatus. According to Karl Marx, the state is the executive committee of the bourgeois. According to Gandhi, state is a satan for the embodiment of brute force. Gandhiji said in Harijan- "(as to whether in an ideal society, there should be any or no government.) i do not think, we need worry ourselves about this at the moment. If we continue to work for such a society, it will slowly come into being to an extent, such that the people can benefit by it.

Euclid's line is one without breadth but no one has so far been able to draw it and never will. All the same it is only by keeping the ideal line in mind that we have made progress in geometry. What is true here is true of every ideal " Gandhiji belief in the primacy of the individual led him to conceptualize a truly non-violent state composed of self-governing and self-sufficient village communities based on majority rule.



In *Hind Swaraj* (1909) he maintains that true freedom would be possible only when modern civilization is completely destroyed and a new society created without governments, parliaments, railways and other fast means of transportation, machinery, doctors, lawyers and armed forces, in which violence is completely abjured by the people and authority is resisted by them through passive resistance.

After his return to India in 1915 Gandhi consistently expressed his dislike for all forms of government on several occasions, thus Gandhiji rejection of the state is based on two classical anarchistic arguments: the state represents an authority that poses a threat to the liberty of the Individual who is above all institutions, and the state represents violence (obviously perpetrated on the people) in an organized form.

Gandhiji does not mean civilization as a mixture of advanced technology, use of arms, use of materialism etc. He indicates materialism used for mechanical reason. Civilization has believed in scientific and technological progress, comprehensive process of production, development of communication system. Thus man changed into mechanical from the humane and ethics which is claimed as natural form of human being.

He strictly condemned the process of civilization. Gandhiji borrowed the idea of modern civilization from various western theorists, as for as example Rousseau, Tolstoy, Ruskin. Generally we have been accepting the positive role of modernization, but Gandhiji disagreed with the view. Gandhiji focused the use of modern technology is not the process of development of human beings.

Gandhiji beheld the European civilization. He considered European civilization is a modern civilization. He criticized the modern civilization. His attention was critical towards the industrial revolution of United Kingdom and political revolution of France. He argued that, the development of capitalism was the direct effect of industrial revolution. In Gandhiji's own opinion, he opposed the modern civilization. He criticized the adaptation of modern civilization process in several European countries. His attitude of modern western civilization was perverted, violent, self-centric, full of self-interest and lack of objectivity. He clearly mentioned in his auto-biography 'The Story of My Experiment with Truth', how western civilization badly effects in human process of development. His approach towards the modern civilization was critique.

Modern civilization was de-humane, irrelevant. The concept of modern civilization is one of the basic parts of Gandhiji's view. He mentioned the modern civilization as called European civilization. We generally accept the positive impacts of right, equality and liberal democracy. But Gandhiji ignored the positive impact of those terms. The definition of modern industrial civilization is in fact a contentious issue since it embodies often conflicting arguments and counter arguments regarding its various features such as rationalism, secularization, and industrialization, the scientific culture, individualism, technological mastery of nature, the drive towards globalization and liberal democracy.

Irrespective of its merits and demerits, indeed much of the modern civilization that we have inherited through ages is a western construct both ideologically and structurally and therefore stands for a serious scrutiny regarding its unalloyed utility and relevance in non-western societies where the focus of life through centuries has always been one of renunciation and salvation rather than getting embroiled in power and aggression.

Gandhiji was against the capitalism, and industrial society. These are the effect of modern civilization. For the proper understanding of Gandhi's case against the west, we have to judge critically both Gandhi and Habermas's reaction to the untruth of the legitimacy, claims of the late capitalist state, whose imperialist and fascist manifestations revealed to

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them the false foundations of western liberal democracy. Looked at from the bottom up, the contradictions of the late capitalist state were seen earlier in the periphery than at the centre of the world capitalist system.

Gandhiji's was a supporter of faith on truth, non-violence, freedom, equality, ethics and morality of the Man. He denied aggressiveness or any type of oppression. He recognized a ideal state, where every individual would be live in peacefully, there is no any form of violence. He described the ideal state as 'Ramrajya' where religious groups are same. He criticised the western form of Democracy due to lack of humanity and value. He observed communism and fascisms, and directly criticized such as form of authoritarian.

We have already discussed he was a supporter of anarchism. His ideal society is full of balance and harmony, every people live with self-reliance, and in clean and hygienic environment. Individual interest is less important than collective interest. He also focused on rural development and rural self-sufficient economy. Gandhiji was a great thinker, he has lot of uniqueness in his thought. His preach of peace is very popular in modern state system. Empowerment of women, decentralization for development, all important tenets of Gandhian theory. Though his idea was explain deeply by the Indian context, but some tenets are very popular in 21st century. Humanity, loyalty, individual freedom, all are the important within a state system.

### 5.9 IDEAS OF FREEDOM

Gandhian theory of freedom is commonly rooted in Hind Swaraj. The idea of swaraj entails two important meanings - individual and collective. At the individual level, swaraj projects human being to be self-disciplinary as well as controlling the individual passions to build a good individual in the collective society; the collective meaning of swaraj comprises the freedom from colonial rule as the first priority of every Indian. It is the political freedom demanded from the British imperialism simply on the ground of self-determination. Being an advocate of civil liberties of individual persons he stated in 1917 that a person can disobey governmental orders and declared that the person of a citizen must be held inviolate. It can only be touched to arrest or to prevent violence.

He also admired most important freedom of individuals like freedom of speech and expression. Gandhi wrote: Freedom of speech and corresponding action is the breadth of democratic life. Freedom of propagating non-violence as substitute for war is the most relevant when indecent savagery is being perpetrated by the warring nations of Europe.<sup>38</sup> In 1940, Gandhi pleaded for freedom of speech, a free press and pure justice, independence of judiciary and complete civil liberty, lie also included right to legal counsel and defence as part of civil rights.

He believed in economic and spiritual freedoms. The economic freedom constitutes equal distribution, adequate wages for any labourer and most important thing for doing this was to bring the state into business. In other words, state must, intervene to produce an opportunity where saruodaya would be possible. Everybody's good is collective good and vice-versa. Apart from these two important meanings of it, swaraj to Gandhi comprises many other things. It is a part of truth which is God. Freedom is considered very sacrosanct. It is the essence of man's personality.

The renunciation of freedom could be attained only through severe suffering and struggle. He simply suggested to the masses in India that freedom they quest for is not going to be easily obtained but to achieve at the cost of a serious struggle, hi the second Round Table 1 Conference he said that 'the page of history is soiled red with the blood of those who have fought for freedom.' Self-rule is the process of removing the infernal obstacles to



freedom. When achieved it is nothing other than spiritual freedom. Self-rule is the unique quality of an individual and found in no other living beings or brutes.

Self-rule presupposes the agency of the spirit (individual atman). The spirit exerts its influence on the empirical ego, on emotions, and intelligence. Under the influence of the spirit, the inner powers of the moral agent become integrated, such that he/she becomes a spiritually aware person, guided by the self-knowledge. The process by which the spirit integrates the inner faculties has a dynamic quality, which is suitably expressed by the concept of 'ruling.' Hence, the terminology of self-rule is *swaraj*. The spirit of higher self 'rules' the lower self of empirical ego.' Self-rule/spiritual freedom is derived from *Bhagavad Gita*.

Nineteen verses of the second chapter of this work draw the celebrated portrait of the person of steady wisdom, the *sthitha-prajna*. *Sthitha-prajna*, for Gandhi, is a model of self-ruling, spiritually free person. Self as a virtue directs the inner power of a person to their proper purposes. Gandhi draws it from the Indian tradition of *Patanjali Yogasutras*. *Patanjali* lists five virtues necessary for anyone contemplating the attainment of spiritual freedom. They are non-violence, truthfulness, non-stealing, chastity and greedlessness. Gandhi added six more virtues to the traditional list - *swadeshi*, removal of untouchability, bodily labour, control of palate, fearlessness, and respect for all religion.

## 5.10 EQUALITY AND GANDHI

### Equality as an All-Pervasive Value

The crux of freedom, for Gandhi, is not being unrestrained or unhindered but to cultivate love and service as these are the quintessence of human nature. Freedom is worthwhile as long as it fulfils basic needs in dignity. Gandhi pleads for both freedom and equality of status which he thinks would make it possible for the establishment of a universal community of free persons.

Those who accept such a community would have to overcome the artificial barriers of race and creed, wealth and power, class and nation. If one segment augments for itself at the expense of others it would be adopting an undemocratic method and would have to use arms to defend the injustice that it perpetrates.

The possessing class would always be in fear of dispossession and the oppressed would be storing up resentment. Gandhi laid emphasis on equal claim that every individual is entitled to by birth and he also acknowledges that in spite of many setbacks, the human civilization has enhanced the philosophy of oneness and that is how we see that the ideals of justice, equality and freedom have been accepted by the major philosophies and social movements.

This is also a reflection of the growing consciousness of being human which had to fight continuously a process which tried to retard them from this noble mission. Gandhi's talisman of keeping the face of the poorest in mind while making policies and in undertaking any social reform is with the concern to bring the marginalized and the most vulnerable into the mainstream of politics and society.

He champions the basic rights of the untouchables and women, as they have been objects of domination and humiliation. He rejects ascriptive properties such as gender, class, birth, caste, education or nationality that can justify unequal treatment and disqualify some as moral agents. I believe implicitly that all men are born equal.

All have the same sort as any other. And it is because I believe in this inherent equality of men that I fight the doctrine of superiority that I delight in calling myself a scavenger, a



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spinner, a weaver, a farmer and a labourer, I consider that it is unmanly for any person to claim superiority over a fellow human being. He who claims superiority at once forfeits his claim to be called a man. That is my opinion.

For Gandhi, equality logically follows from non-violence; non-violence entails non-exploitation and non-exploitation is impossible without equality and thus equality and non-violence are interdependent. In Gandhi's perception, freedom and equality are also inter-related; without social and economic equality, there cannot be freedom and without freedom, there can be no social and economic equality. Thus, in Gandhi's thought, freedom, equality and nonviolence mutually depend on one another and together constitute justice, which is the basis of good society.

### **Economic Equality**

Of all the dimensions of equality, Gandhi focuses most on economic equality and sees economic equality as the basis of non-violence and freedom. He considers economic equality "as the master key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the leveling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the one hand and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land".

According to Gandhi, violence stems from inequality, the wide gap that exists between the possessing and the non-violence and unless the root cause of violence is weeded out through non-violent means, one cannot rule out the possibility of violent revolution. In Gandhi's ideal society there would be absolute equality of incomes for all types of work and for all individuals.

Believing in the concept of bread labour and dignity of work, Gandhi insists that same amount of work in any occupation ought to be rewarded by the same Liberty and Equality. Gandhi's Political thought amount of wages. Echoing Ruskin, Gandhi observes that "if India is to live any exemplary life of independence which would be the envy of the world, all the bhangis, doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants and others would get the same wages for an honest day's work".

Gandhi knew that such an ideal would not be realizable in the foreseeable future but that does not justify the gross inequalities that existed in the contemporary human society nor is the argument that some need more than others is acceptable. He points out "let no one try to justify the glaring difference between the classes and the masses, the prince and the pauper, by saying that the former need the more. The contrast between the rich and the poor today is a painful sight. The poor villages produce the food and go hungry.

They produce milk and their children have to go without it". Gandhi clarifies equal distribution as his ideal and till that is realized he would like to settle for work for equitable distribution as that would not only ensure elimination of gross disparities in income but also allow every member of the society to receive enough goods and services to meet his basic requirements and enjoy a certain minimum standard of living.

"The real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more....To bring this ideal into being the entire social order has got to be reconstructed. A society based on Non-violence cannot nurture any other ideal". Gandhi considers accumulation of wealth as immoral which is why

he proposes trusteeship. To achieve equitable distribution he proposes four specific measures:

- Bread Labour or manual labour which for Gandhi would remove exploitation. "If all worked for their bread, distinctions of rank would be obliterated; the rich would still be there, but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property, and would use it mainly in the public interest". Bread labour would reduce not only economic inequality but also social inequality and in the Indian context, it would undermine caste-based inequalities. Bread labour ensures that none would be rich and poor; high or low and touchable and untouchable.
- Voluntary renunciation, a value that Gandhi reiterates from the Isopanishad of not coveting the possessions of others and not accumulating beyond one's basic needs. Personal wants ought to be kept to the barest minimum keeping in mind the poverty of one's fellow human beings and try for a new mode of life.
- Satyagraha to resolve industrial and agricultural disputes as legitimate and the proposal of trusteeship to resolve the conflict between labour and capital with the core idea of non-appropriation by owners. He writes, "If, however, in spite of the utmost efforts the rich do not become guardians of the poor in the true sense of the term and the latter are more and more crushed and die of hunger, what is to be done?"

In trying to find the solution to this riddle I have lighted on non-violent non-cooperation and civil disobedience as the right and infallible means. The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the cooperation of the poor in society....If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread amongst the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation".

- Governmental Action is necessary to ensure that every work receives a minimum or living wage. Gandhi insists that his ideal would have to be realized through non-violent measures, through moral process of transformation involving individuals and keeping the role of the state to its minimum. This is what separates the Gandhian ideal from the Marxists and socialists, who too emphasize on equality as a moral ideal but while the Marxists advocate violent transformation, the socialists insist on a democratic transformation. Gandhi categorically rejects the Marxist ideal of the dictatorship of proletariat as a means of securing social and economic justice for the poor.

### **Racial and Caste Equality**

Gandhi was well aware of the contemporary situation, the savage brutality of the Nazi's treatment of the Jews and was saddened by the expression of racialism anywhere in the world. What puzzled him was that even in democracies, racialism is a fact of life both in the British Empire and the United States. His initiation to politics was his first hand acquaintance of racialism in South Africa and what disturbed him the most was that both the Church and the state approved the basic denial of equality to non-European races.

For him, any form of inequality based on race and colour was unreasonable and immoral and to fight for the redress of such illegitimate inequality and to restore one's own dignity and honour, he began his satyagraha movements in South Africa. Gandhi was a great believer in the principles of democratic equality and the British constitution providing equality and justice to all and could not accept this serious violation when it came to involve the Indians in South Africa. When he arrived in India he was struck by the



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inequalities from which the Indian society suffered and took a vow to get rid of all stark inequalities.

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan considers that one of the greatest contributions of Gandhi is the removal of untouchability. Gandhi went to the extent of declaring “if I have to be reborn I should wish to be born as an untouchable so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and the affronts leveled at them in order that I may endeavor to free myself and them from that miserable condition”. Though Gandhi called himself a sanatani Hindu, he was one of the severest critics of the curse of untouchability and any other form of inequality that was practiced in the name of religion, caste, race or nation.

He did not spare even the Indian princes and was very critical of the condition of the poor in their states. He was equally critical of the Permanent Settlement Act and the landlords and cautioned them hoping that “they will realize before it is too late that their safety and survival are bound up with the rapid introduction of responsible government which even the paramount power with all its strength was obliged to concede to the provinces”.

One of the severest criticisms that Gandhi leveled against the British occupation of India was that it has led to extreme oppression of the poor, pointing out the earlier periods of plentiful situations; he castigated the British for keeping majority of the population in a situation of abject poverty and a system that is totally inhuman.

As Gandhi himself says, “the semi starved millions scattered throughout the seven hundred thousand villages dotted over a surface of nineteen hundred miles broad” and added that it is a painful phenomenon that “those villages through no fault of their own have nearly six months in a year are idle upon their hands”. This, he contrasts with the situation before the advent of the British, which was self-sufficient, with no shortage of food and clothing. He blamed the British East India Company for ruining the supplementary village industry for this situation and as a remedial measure proposed the regeneration of the villages through the Constructive Programmes with due emphasis on cottage industries.

Gandhi was equally conscious that the problems of thickly populated underdeveloped colonial situations like India cannot have the same solution as the sparsely populated industrialized western countries. It is because of such an understanding that Gandhi discounted capital intensive production mechanism and pleaded for the revival of the village economies that were labour-intensive production as these would guarantee meaningful employment to our teeming millions. One of his close associates, J.C. Kumarappa, worked out the details of his plans.

### **5.11 SOCIAL JUSTICE AND GANDHI**

The Gandhian outlook on social justice had its foundation in the over-arching Indian concept Dharma. Dharma can be understood in many ways. Generally, it is defined as “that which supports or sustains”(the universe, the relationships)—the moral law according to Sanskrit tradition. In a derivative sense, it can also mean religion and duty. Gandhi’s understanding of social justice has both these meanings as a foundation, and they are inextricably interlinked.

For Gandhi, it is a spirituality based on his religion that inspires his action. It is the Vedic religious view of reality as non-dual, which in the ultimate analysis binds you to a life of “seeking truth alone” in its various manifestations (including diverse individual world views and practices), and thus creates immense space for tolerance. From this perspective, social justice can become a reality only in a world where diverse presences have a rightful claim to co-existence as manifestations of the “absolute truth.”

While today's perception about social justice is often founded on a "rights-based approach," Gandhi's vision of a just world is one based on "duties." Gandhi personally firmly adhered to the ancient religious doctrine of duty based on one's caste and status. Among his beliefs, he lists varnashrama dharma or "Discipline of the Castes," which is to be on strictly Vedic lines, and may be distinct from the crude popular belief of unequal class status based on birth. Gandhi's conception of the caste system does not base it on pride or vain notions of social superiority, but on duties assigned to them specifically.

On October 6, 1921, Gandhi wrote, "I decline to be bound by any interpretation, however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or moral sense" (quoted in Rolland). He re-interpreted and redefined the existing paradigm of caste-based duties by reiterating the dignity and significance of all such duties for the "sustenance" of the society.

However, the reality of Indian experience of this framework was an enslaving and exploitative hierarchical stratification, which led to the oppression of the majority by a privileged minority. Hence, in his later years, while fighting to eliminate such oppression, he also gave up on adhering to this notion of duty. All the same, he never abandoned the "notion of duty" as fundamental to a just society, as he writes in his radical attack on (modern) civilization:

Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means "good conduct." That logic of justice sounds simple— if one performs one's duties, everyone else's rights are ensured. However, there is often clamor for obtaining rights, and getting "others" to do their duties, and a near total neglect of a focus on individuals fulfilling their duties.

### Goal of social justice

Gandhi believed that the praxis of social justice aims at a utopia—a religious utopia, very much in the context of Indian (Hindu) thinking and tradition. He terms it ramarajya (Reign of Rama, or Kingdom of Rama), where justice would prevail as it used to during the reign of the legendary King Rama. In order to establish "righteousness," Rama had to suffer the loss of his throne, exile in the forest, and countless other sufferings, through which he emerged victorious over all demonic powers, to establish a reign of justice for all. (However, today there are many who question Rama's version of justice, especially with respect to the treatment of women - his wife).

In Gandhi's advaitic religious view, Rama is not the legendary Rama of Ayodhya, rather the Absolute Truth, addressed in human terms, which alone can be the plenitude of justice. This perspective is very similar to the Christian utopia presented by Jesus as the Kingdom of God, which, today, is rendered as "reign of God," which according to St. Paul is "justice, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Holy Bible, Letter of St. Paul to Romans, XIV).

If this vision of social justice is expressed more in religious-idealistic terms, Gandhi does not deprive us of a secular version, even if he did not regard it as the ultimate goal of praxis of justice. The rich Indian terminology he employs is sarvodaya, which means the "progress of all" or, in a proximate rendering, the "well-being of all." However, this term is not to be confused with the concept of the "greater common good", which has become a more exploitative term, especially in developing nations like India where people are easily driven away from their habitats, and denied access to natural resources, which they had traditionally used.



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For example, it is estimated that in the name of the “greater common good” of the nation, almost 50 million people have been displaced without adequate compensation or rehabilitation, and most of them are already on the fringes of the socio-economic landscape. This fatality lurking in the “rise of nation-states” had not gone unnoticed by Gandhi; hence he asserted that the attainment of such a goal was dependent and conditional on achieving the preliminary goal of antibody—the progress of “the least, the last and the lost.” He drew inspiration for his social economics from the much criticized work of John Ruskin, *Unto This Last* (1860, paraphrased in Ghandi, 1908), which is based on the biblical story of the eleventh hour laborer being paid an “equal wage.”

In broader terms, this perspective on social justice demanded an uplift or development of the least developed, to ensure that the “well being of all” is ensured. Gandhi’s experiments at Phoenix settlement were an attempt to implement these ideas. However, he went beyond this goal in his later efforts—to ensure that all those who were oppressed or subjugated—particularly oppressed communities and women were lifted up.

### Means and methods

In Gandhi’s view, there is just one primary method to attain a just society where everyone’s wellbeing is ensured—that is, “holding on to truth” (satyagraha).<sup>10</sup> In making “truth” you’re God, you set aside everything else and cling on to it, as it is realized by you. Also, in the ultimate analysis, it would mean understanding all presences as God’s presence.

Hence, based on satyagraha, the next principle, non-violence (ahimsa), will follow. In the Indian tradition, ahimsa is described as the greatest of all “duties.” Usually, this concept has been equated with “passive resistance,” a translation that was not acceptable to Gandhi. Passive resistance is a mode of non-violent struggle, wherein your resistance is devoid of violence, especially physical injury, while the struggle remains, however, very active.

To Gandhi, non-violence is a negative terminology, but to him, ahimsa implies an “all embracing love.” It goes beyond doing no harm, and involves an invincible good will to all, doing good even to one’s enemy. It is through the weapon of self-suffering and love that one ought to overcome an unjust person or system.

Suffering is the mark of the human tribe. It is an eternal law. The mother suffers so that her child may live. Life, comes out of death. The condition of wheat growing is that the seed grain should perish. No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. It is impossible to do away with the law of suffering which is the one indispensable condition of our being. Progress is to be measured by the amount of suffering undergone.... The purer the suffering the greater is the progress. Nonviolence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. Quoted in Rolland, to achieve this condition requires tremendous discipline, which can only be attained through rigorous training.

Another corollary, a sine qua non to establish a just economic order, is “non-covetousness” (aparigraha), another principle from the ancient Indian tradition; it means you do not take what you do not require. The famous Gandhian dictum in this context is: Nature produces enough for our wants from day-to-day, and if only every being took enough for him and nothing more, then there would be no paupers in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world.... God never creates more than what is strictly needed for this moment. Therefore, whoever appropriates more than the minimum that is really necessary for him is guilty of theft?



## Ingredients of a just society

### Equal distribution

Gandhi promoted a very radical socialist ideal of “equal distribution” while articulately separating himself from the “socialist” school, basically because he objected to the means proposed to attain this ideal. The ideal of equal distribution did not, however, involve an equal division of resources among the people. In Gandhi’s view, “the real implication of equal distribution is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his needs and no more”.

It resembles the famous communist axiom—“from each according to one’s ability to each according to one’s needs.” Gandhi realized that to bring this ideal into being the entire social order has to be reconstructed. This has to take place by voluntary renunciation, which is in the mode of a spiritual revolution and not of a violent revolution. He experimented with this ideal successfully at the Phoenix settlement he established, where everyone, irrespective of the tasks was paid equally.

### Trusteeship

In Gandhi’s view, a very radical component of a just society is that of ownership of resources: “the root of the doctrine of equal distribution must lie that of the trusteeship of the wealthy for the superfluous wealth possessed by them” This principle is based on the very famous axiom of Indian tradition, “Enjoy thy wealth, by renouncing it”:

To do this we would naturally have to resort to violence. This violent action cannot benefit society. Society will be the poorer, for it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate wealth. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth, of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder to be used for the society. In this argument, honesty on the part of the trustee is assumed.

The ability to accumulate or generate wealth is seen by Gandhi as a skill which all do not possess. Those who possess this skill have to use it for generating wealth, which needs to be utilized for the common good, after meeting his “reasonable requirements.” Does this reflect pure idealism? However, in Gandhi’s time the movements of bhoodaan (gifting of land) and gramadaan (gifting of villages) occurred in India; they persist even after his death. The concept of trusteeship they reflect emphasizes the inherent goodness in human beings, and the effect of “sound reason” on them.

It is indeed a socialism of sorts—where emphasis is more on “how and for whom” the wealth is utilized, rather than on “who possesses” the wealth (whether the state or the individual). It is a spiritual form of socialism, which operates on the spiritual principles of ahimsa and aparigraha (read as love and renunciation, respectively). On the basis of his treatise of equal distribution and possession, Gandhi decided to confine his needs to the minimum, sticking to strictly vegetarian and need-based meals, and loin-cloths made of hand-spun cotton that was affordable to the poorest peasant.

### Self-rule

Gandhi also held a very radical view regarding state power. He believed there is “violence in state power.” He asserted “the State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence”. He favored a “minimalist state” with the bare minimum functions of security and resolutions of conflicts between its various units. While all of Gandhi’s thoughts were presented against the injustice of

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an oppressive alien rule, for Gandhi, “self-rule” (swaraj) had a much wider and more liberating meaning.

Optimally, independence and the establishment of parliamentary democracy was only the immediate goal or a first step. Self-rule had to begin with individual laborers and peasants becoming powerful enough to say “no” and “yes” according to their convictions regarding matters affecting them. However, he felt that social justice could be established firmly only when people of a locality (villages) lived in harmony, decided their matters at the local level, and resolved their disputes without having any recourse to the “evil of law courts,” which he believed tend to perpetrate strife and thrive on conflict (Gandhi, 1908).

He insisted on the re-establishment of traditional self-sufficient villages revised to fit the changing times as “village republics,” set up in a democratic and representative manner for a fixed term. They would be responsible for all legislative, judicial, and executive functions regarding education, health, sanitation, and production. They would organize village economies in a sustainable manner; they would primarily be independent, yet would be inter-dependent on neighboring villages in matters of necessity. In sum, it is a vision of an ever-widening circle of inter-dependence, without the aggression or oppression implicit in a pyramidal structure (Gandhi, 1959).

### **Swadeshi—self-sufficient local communities**

Gandhi thought that social justice requires that local communities become self-sufficient. Each community has to produce what it requires—in terms of material goods and services. Anything that tends to displace human labor has to be eschewed, as what is required is the “production by the masses” ensuring that they have a livelihood, and not “mass production,” even if the latter produced goods more cheaply.

For example, Gandhi pointed out the injustices implied in the “transportation” business—leading to the unnecessary movement of people and goods. According to him, it led to the spread of evil—physical and cultural—faster, rather than of sustained fulfillment of human needs. Gandhi also believed that a just society has to have minimum need of minimally a “curative health care” system, because such a system makes people slaves of medicines, lethargic, and less concerned about their personal health. He asserted that justice in health care lies in “preventive care,” where hazards to health are avoided through healthy living and adequate sanitation. He promoted the creation of a curative health care system in harmony with nature and a balanced diet.

### **Bread labour**

To reconstruct society into a “just society,” the dignity of labour has to be upheld. For Gandhi, social justice demands that everyone contribute to the production of societal goods through by physical labor. In other words, physical labor was to be placed on a par with intellectual labour in dignity. Although intellectual labor cannot be avoided, Gandhi believed that respect and readiness “to earn one’s bread by the sweat of one’s brow” should be instilled in all, especially through schools that educate people’s hands as well as their heads. All children’s education, therefore, would have a necessary component of manual labour.

### **Protection of animals**

Recently, there has been a radical shift in our understanding of social justice as a consequence of the environmental movement. We have begun to speak of the rights of animals and all beings in the context of “environmental justice and ethics,” In today’s environmental thinking, much stress is laid on the R’s, especially on “rethinking”—of revising the anthropocentric world view with a Cosmo-centric or bio-centric world view.



Thus, for Gandhi, even in those times, this perspective was an extension of the biblical law of “love thy neighbor,” with every living being as your neighbor.

Thus, Gandhi would claim “cow-protection” as Hinduism’s unique contribution to the cause of international love and tolerance. Gandhi promoted “cow-protection,” a longstanding religious practice of Hindu tradition, as one of the items of his credo:

Because the cow, to him, is taken as the symbol of the entire ‘sub-human world.’ Cow-protection means that man concludes a pact of alliance with his dumb brethren; it signifies fraternity between man and beast. By learning to respect, revere an animal, man is taken beyond his species and is enjoined to realize his identity with all that lives.

### **Work for the uplift of the oppressed**

With the specific practice of *antyodaya*, Gandhi took up the fight against untouchability and promoted the uplift of society’s “pariahs.” He considered untouchability the product of a “vile deformation” of the caste system. In this regard, he went so far as to present his view on the Hindu doctrine of rebirth:

I do not want to be reborn, but if I have to be reborn, I should be “untouchable” so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and affronts leveled to them in order that I may endeavor to free them from their miserable condition. He also adopted a child of seven from the untouchable class who moved around his ashram with abandon, as a proof of his commitment to the cause.

In his desire to bring justice to the untouchable class by correcting their age-long oppression, Gandhi popularized the term *harijan*—God’s people—for the communities, which were outside the privileges of the caste system. In all these efforts, his goal, in line with his doctrine of *ahimsa*, was to bring about the conversion of the hearts of the oppressor to include and accept their excluded brethren.

### **Gandhian vision of a just society in practice**

Gandhi’s vision of social justice emerged in the context of India’s struggle for independence from British domination. This struggle was based on the concept of a non-violent society as envisioned by its leader, Gandhi. However, as an independent nation the ideals of a just society that promotes social and economic justice are more prominent in lofty declarations and stated goals, rather than in its actual governance.

In the initial phase of its existence, India emerged as a democratic power more on the basis of its military and economic might among the South Asian countries. More recently, its power has rested on its urban based, free-market (neo-capitalist) economy. Nevertheless, there have been constant efforts to return to the ideals of justice propounded by the Mahatma (Great Soul).

### **Positive discrimination**

One example is the position of the Indian government on positive discrimination. Indian governments have consistently stuck to the provision of positive discrimination or affirmative action by making special provisions for the communities oppressed under the age-old caste system, against which Gandhi led a non-violent struggle throughout his life. Irrespective of the numerous mechanisms currently in place, recent critics of this policy assert that it is now used more to appease these populations and attract their votes, rather than to promote the positive development of these communities.

### **Promoting local self-governance**

Almost five decades after Gandhi’s death, with the passage of the 1992 constitutional amendments, serious attention was finally paid to the ideal of self-sufficient local



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communities. These amendments have indeed led to greater possibilities of realizing and experimenting with Gandhi's ideal of a just society. Much has been achieved in this area as a consequence; millions of Indians are now involved in the governance of their affairs and women and dalits (the former untouchables) have assumed power as a matter of right through the provisions of the law. However, the Indian people still lack an education as to how to construct a non-violent, self-sustaining, and non-exploitative society; for most people it is not even a dream.

### **Struggles against the state power and development of induced marginalization**

After the successful demonstration of the power of non-violent means to create a more socially just society in the United States, especially under the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr., and in South Africa, in the later stages of the struggle against apartheid under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, there have been successful experiments using the power of non-violent means for social justice in various struggles by local communities in India.

Many of these struggles have targeted the oppressive state power, which has colluded with corporate capitalist interests. Such struggles still continue in India, around various issues of sustainable development and the denial of social justice to the victims of development. They have led to drastic revision of public policies in favor of the oppressed.

## **5.12 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

Veda Vyasa was a great Vedic scholar and a sage. He was born over 5000 years ago in Damouli of Tanahi which is now in Nepal. His father was Parasara Maharshi and mother Satyavati who belonged to Sudras, fishermen community. The Sudras treated the lowest community in those days.

Veda Vyasa had a tremendous command of Vedic knowledge, he thought himself those four Vedas only not give guidance to the people to lead a fruitful life. Then Veda Vyasa wanted to give a valuable literature which understandable not only to the educators but also to the peasants also. Already his father Parasara Maharshi and his forefather Vasista Maharshi played the role in classification of the Vedas. So he wanted to create something unique by himself. At the meantime, he studied the history of the Kuru kings and passionated the Kuru Kings' life stories. The stories had a lot of stuff to bring the moral values among the people ever, so he created the epic called Mahabharata which gives us the entire life, sacrifice and struggles between the Pandavas and Kauravas. Every character in this book is a lesson to the present generation also.

It contained all the knowledge of Vedas, morals which are relevant to the present world, the characters which resemble every man of the society at present also. It contains practical Dharma-Sasthra which has been guiding to the society. His creation of Mahabharata became very popular and it has been treating as fifth Veda.

Now, we move on to the Gandhian era. Mohandas Gandhi was born in the western part of British-ruled India on October 2, 1869. A timid child, he was married at thirteen to a girl of the same age, Kasturbai. Following the death of his father, Gandhi's family sent him to England in 1888 to study law. There, he became interested in the philosophy of nonviolence, as expressed in the Bhagavad-Gita, Hindu sacred scripture, and in Jesus Christ's Sermon on the Mount in the Christian Bible. He returned to India in 1891, having passed the bar, but found little success in his attempts to practice law. Seeking a change of scenery, he accepted a position in South Africa for a year, where he assisted on a lawsuit.

In South Africa, he became involved in efforts to end discrimination against the Indian minority there, who were oppressed both by the British and by the Boers, descendants

of the original Dutch settlers of the region. Having intended to stay a year, he ended up remaining until 1914 (his wife and children had joined him, meanwhile, in 1896). He founded the Natal Indian Congress, which worked to further Indian interests, and commanded an Indian medical corps that fought on the British side in the Boer War (1899-1901), in which the British conquered the last independent Boer republics.

After the war, Gandhi's reputation as a leader grew. He became even more adamant in his personal principles, practicing sexual abstinence, renouncing modern technology, and developing satyagraha—literally, “soul- force.” Satyagraha was a method of non-violent resistance, often called “non-cooperation,” that he and his allies used to great effect against the white governments in South Africa. Their willingness to endure punishment and jail earned the admiration of people in Gandhi's native India, and eventually won concessions from the Boer and British rulers. By 1914, when Gandhi left South Africa and returned to India, he was known as a holy man: people called him a “Mahatma”, or “great soul.”

At this point, he was still loyal to the British Empire, but when the British cracked down on Indian civil liberties after World War I, Gandhi began to organize nonviolent protests. The Amritsar Massacre, in which British troops gunned down peaceful Indian protestors, convinced Gandhi and India of the need for self-rule, and in the early '20s Gandhi organized large-scale campaigns of non-cooperation that paralyzed the subcontinent's administration—and led to his imprisonment, from 1922 to 1924. After his release, he withdrew from politics for a time, preferring to travel India, working among the peasantry. But in 1930, he wrote the Declaration of Independence of India, and then led the Salt March in protest against the British monopoly on salt. This touched off acts of civil disobedience across India, and the British were forced to invite Gandhi to London for a Round-Table Conference.

Although Gandhi received a warm welcome in England, the Conference foundered on the issue of how an independent India would deal with its Muslim minority, and Gandhi withdrew from public life again. But independence could not be long delayed. The Government of India Act (1935) surrendered significant amounts of power to Indians, and the Indian National Congress clamored for more. When World War II broke out, India erupted into violence, and many nationalist leaders, including Gandhi, went to prison. After the war, the new British government wanted to get India off its hands quickly.

But Muhammed Ali Jinnah, the head of the Muslim League, demanded that a separate state be created for India's Muslims, and to Gandhi's great distress, the Congress leaders and the harried British agreed. August of 1947 saw India's attainment of independence—as well as its partition into two countries, India and Pakistan. However, neither measure served to solve India's problems, and the country immediately fell apart: Hindus and Muslims killed each other in alarming numbers while refugees fled toward the borders. Heartbroken, Gandhi tried to calm the country, but to no avail. He was assassinated by a Hindu nationalist in Delhi on January 30, 1948, and India mourned the loss of its greatest hero.

## 5.13 REVIEW QUESTIONS

### SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Dandniti?
2. Briefly discuss Vyasa's Life and Works.
3. Explain Rajadharma according to Shanti Parva of Mahabharata.

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4. How was Mahatma Gandhi perceived by the peasants?
5. How was non-cooperation a form of protest?

### LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS

1. In what way did Mahatma Gandhi transform the nature of the national movement?
2. How did Gandhiji involve Indian masses in the National Movement?
3. Describe the King's duties in detail during the war.
4. Describe all major Satyagraha in detail.
5. What do you understand by ingredients of society? Explain every ingredient in detail.

### 5.14 MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. **Gandhiji believed that**
  - a. End justifies means
  - b. Means justify end
  - c. Neither end justifies means nor means justify end
  - d. End and means both should be justified
2. **At which one of the following places did Mahatma Gandhi first start his Satyagraha in India?**
  - a. Ahmedabad
  - b. Bardoli
  - c. Champaran
  - d. Kheda
3. **October 2, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi is internationally observed as -**
  - a. Non-violence Day
  - b. Vegetarians Day
  - c. Martyrs' Day
  - d. Communal Harmony Day
4. **Who was the author of Mahabharata?**
  - a. Valmiki
  - b. Vasubandhu
  - c. Vyasa
  - d. Baskaracharya
5. **'Arthasastra' is the work of \_\_\_\_\_.**
  - a. Kautilya
  - b. Veda Vyasa
  - c. Gandhiji
  - d. Jawaharlal Nehru
6. **Which of are called as epics?**
  - a. Malavikagnimitra
  - b. Ramayana

- c. Mahabharate
- d. b and c

**7. Consider the following events:**

- 1. Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- 2. Withdrawl of Non-Cooperation Movement
- 3. Beginning of Khilafat Movement
- 4. Formation of Swaraj Party

**Arrange them in their correct Chronological order.**

- a. 1, 2, 3, 4
- b. 1, 3, 4, 2
- c. 1, 3, 2, 4
- d. 3, 2, 4, 1

**8. Dandi March brought forward \_\_\_\_\_**

- a. Non-Cooperation Movement
- b. Civil Disobedience Movement
- c. Quit India Movement
- d. Rowlatt Satyagraha

**9. What's the meaning of 'Bhoodan'?**

- a. Gifting of land
- b. Gifting of villages
- c. Gifting of trees
- d. None of these

**10. The term 'harijan' that was popularized by Gandhiji meant?**

- a. Gift of God
- b. God's people
- c. Gift of land
- d. None of these

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# ANSWER KEY

## UNIT I

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	c.	6	a.
2	c.	7	b.
3	c.	8	c.
4	b.	9	a.
5	a.	10	d.

## UNIT II

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	d.	6	b.
2	c.	7	b.
3	b.	8	c.
4	b.	9	b.
5	c.	10	d.

## UNIT III

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	c.	6	b.
2	b.	7	b.
3	c.	8	a.
4	c.	9	a.
5	a.	10	d.

## UNIT IV

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	b.	6	d.
2	c.	7	d.
3	b.	8	a.
4	a.	9	a.
5	c.	10	b.

## UNIT V

QUESTION	ANSWER	QUESTION	ANSWER
1	d.	6	d.
2	c.	7	c.
3	a.	8	b.
4	c.	9	a.
5	a.	10	b.

## **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

**The students will be able to understand:**

### **UNIT -1**

- Recognition of the role of justice in Plato's ideal state..
- Understanding the life and background of Plato.
- Recognition of key historical and philosophical influences on Plato's thought.

### **UNIT -2**

- Understanding the life and background of Aristotle.
- Recognition of Aristotle's contributions to various fields.
- Mastery of Aristotle's thought and his contributions to different disciplines.

### **UNIT -3**

- Mastery of Hobbes's theory regarding the origin of the state.
- Recognition of the social contract theory in Hobbes's political thought.
- Analysis of the role of the state in protecting or limiting individual rights.

### **UNIT-4**

- Mastery of the immediate and long-term impacts of the Russian Revolution.
- Recognition of Locke's views on human nature and the state of nature.
- Understanding the conditions that led to the establishment of society and government.

### **UNIT-5**

- Understanding the historical context of foreign influence and control in China.
- Mastery of Locke's ideas regarding the social contract and the establishment of government.
- Recognition of Locke's theories on types of government...

## Suggestive Reading

### Books

- .H. Dani and J.P. Mohen, Ed., History of Humanity, Vol. II, From the Third
- Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade
- (Princeton, 1925)
- Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961)
- Georges Duby, The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and
- Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century (Ithaca, 1974)
- Georges Duby, The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined (Chicago:
- University of Chicago Press, 1980)
- Georges Duby, Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West
- F. L. Ganshof, Feudalism (New York, 1964)
- Lynn White Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1962)
- Jacques LeGoff, Medieval Civilization (Cambridge, MA, 1990)
- Perry Anderson, Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism (London, 1974)
- E. A. R. Brown, 'The Tyranny of a Construct', American Historical Review
- (79), 1974
- Gerald A J Hodgett, A Social and Economic History of Medieval Europe
- Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe
- Maurice Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism
- Rodney Hilton, ed. The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism
- Harbans Mukhia, "Maurice Dobb's Explanation of the Decline of Feudalism
- in Western Europe – A Critique", The Indian Historical Review, vol. 6, nos. 1-
- 2, July 1979-January 1980, pp. 154-184.



## **Web Resources**

- [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geoffrey\\_Chaucer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geoffrey_Chaucer)
- [www.angelfire.com/m3/Chaucer](http://www.angelfire.com/m3/Chaucer)
- [www.luminarium.org/medlit/chaucer.htm-catched](http://www.luminarium.org/medlit/chaucer.htm-catched)
- [classiclit.about.com/cs/profileswriters/p/aa](http://classiclit.about.com/cs/profileswriters/p/aa)
- [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund\\_Spenser](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Spenser)
- [www.tnellen.com/cybereng/lit\\_terms-\\_allegory.html/](http://www.tnellen.com/cybereng/lit_terms-_allegory.html/)